

OME OF THE KINGS

IDA THALLON HILL

MOUNT UNION COLLEGE
LIBRARY

Book No. 913.3701 - H646r

Accession No. 33696

Gift of

Fund



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2023 with funding from
Kahle/Austin Foundation

https://archive.org/details/bwb_T2-CGU-516

ROME OF THE KINGS

ROME OF THE KINGS

*An Archaeological Setting for
Livy and Vergil*

BY

IDA THALLON HILL

FORMERLY ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF HISTORY,
VASSAR COLLEGE

With Two Maps



NEW YORK
E. P. DUTTON & COMPANY
681 FIFTH AVENUE
WGE

913.3701

H 646 m

COPYRIGHT, 1925,
BY E. P. DUTTON & COMPANY

All rights reserved

33696

Printed in the United States of America

TO
E. W. W.
and
G. S.

PREFACE

The purpose of this book has already been indicated in its secondary title; it aims to furnish an archæological background for those authors who stand forth pre-eminently in connection with the early traditions of Rome.

Its excuse for existence is the fact that this material has hitherto been familiar chiefly to the specialist and has been scattered through many learned journals, often inaccessible to the general reader. The time has not yet come for an adequate résumé, investigations are still in progress and much awaits interpretation. As the material accumulates in quantity it calls for more specialized and intensive study, and the prospects of a general summary become indefinitely postponed.

This book does not attempt to be that summary of the early Iron Age in Italy so greatly desired by the archæologist, neither is it a critical study of the historical value of Livy and Vergil; its more modest purpose is to include what appears to be most relevant to the authors and subject mentioned in the title.

In general, the weakness of editions of classical authors seems to be on the archaeological side, and while all modern teaching utilizes this new ally to the full, the text-books have by no means kept up to date. The recent books on ancient history have been far in advance of those on ancient literature in this respect, but owing to the wide field to be traversed, they have been unable to dwell long on early times.

My aim has been to furnish something useful for both these classes of students and also for the general reader and the intelligent traveller, whose interest in things ancient appears to be increasing to a gratifying extent. There seemed a demand for a book of this nature and I was urged to undertake it by my colleagues in the classical departments. It was written during my last year at Vassar, under great pressure, and errors have doubtless crept in, although I have endeavored to avoid all controversial material and theories and to stick as closely as possible to matters of fact.

Since it was written, the following books have appeared: D. Randall-Mac Iver's *Villanovans and Early Etruscans*, F. von Duhn's *Italische Gräberkunde*, R. A. L. Fell's *Etruria and Rome*, and T. Frank's *Roman Buildings of the Republic*. Mr. Mac Iver's book reached me in time to utilize it

for certain revisions, von Duhn's monumental work has been used only for reference, and Professor Frank's book arrived after my own had gone to press.

My special debt to certain other books will be apparent to the reader. I may mention particularly those of Professor Adams (now Mrs. Holland), Professor Della Seta, Mrs. Van Buren, and Professor Frank, to whom I am also greatly indebted for a most illuminating lecture in the Forum in the summer of 1923. All these friends have most generously allowed me to plunder them at my will.

Of my former colleagues at Vassar the members of the Latin Journal Club, Professor Macurdy, Professor Taylor, and Professor Gertrude Smith have been a constant source of encouragement and have given many valuable suggestions. Most especially my thanks are due to Professor Haight and Dr. Pierce (now Mrs. Blegen) for their endless and patient assistance in seeing the book through the press.

To Messrs. E. P. Dutton and Company I wish to express my most cordial appreciation of their kindness and courtesy in furthering its publication and in smoothing the author's stony path.

And now since, after many years of academic

digression in the teaching of Greek, Latin and History, I have returned to my original field of archæology, I feel more than ever convinced of the value and interrelation of these subjects and of how they combine to form a picture of the past.

I. T. H.

May, 1925.
American School of Classical Studies,
Athens.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
PREFACE	vii
CHAPTER	
I. FORTES ANTE ROMULUM	I
II. ANTENOR THE TROJAN	34
III. THE FORUM AND LOW-LYING DISTRICTS OF ROME	52
IV. THE HILLS OF ROME	74
V. ROME'S CONQUEST OF THE CAMPAGNA .	104
VI. ETRURIA AND ITS EARLY INHABITANTS .	129
VII. THE EARLY TEMPLES OF LATIUM AND SOUTHERN ETRURIA	166
VIII. MUSEUMS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE PRE- HISTORIC PERIODS	192
BIBLIOGRAPHY	237
INDEX	243

ROME OF THE KINGS

ROME OF THE KINGS

CHAPTER I

FORTES ANTE ROMULUM

HORACE in one of his best-known odes tells us that many brave men lived before Agamemnon, but that they have passed into oblivion for want of an inspired poet to recount their deeds.

The discoveries at Mycenæ led back to Agamemnon himself, but it was left to a member of the race that Horace characterized as *ultimos orbis Britannos* to discover the palace of one of those most famous brave men of an earlier date. Unwept, unhonored, and unsung is the fate the poet attributes to them, but at least there were legends centering about the person of Minos.

When, however, we turn to Italy, we find no contemporary poet telling of heroic days, although the magic of Vergil has restored in part the story of those whom Æneas found on his arrival, so that

Latinus, Evander, or Turnus seems to us a distinct personality. And yet, farther back in the dim distance were men whose names we know not, races who can be characterized only by the name given to the civilization they left. It is people like these, the nameless ones, who shall concern us here in an attempt to see something of the civilization that antedated Rome and of the races who contributed so much to the making of Rome and Italy.

It is only in recent years that we have come to realize how many elements were blended together and how composite the peoples of Italy were. The legend of the asylum as a refuge belongs to the dawn of history and represents the hospitality of Rome towards other peoples, but far earlier there was an unconscious hospitality, and indications of fusion and separation, of influences received or rejected are manifold.

The famous epigram of Metternich that Italy is only a geographical expression was made at the close of the Napoleonic period in a spirit of cynical irony against any aspirations for national unity or independence on the part of the Italians, and just over half a century ago they proved the falsity of this statement by achieving a united country for the first time since the days of the Roman Empire, a unity which rests on the sound basis of common aspirations and ideals which bid fair to overcome the tendency to disunion and local interests so

noticeable in the history of Italy from the earliest times of which we have any record.

The backbone of the Apennines divides Italy into distinct areas of which one is the Lombard plain or the Po valley, while to the west of the curve of the mountain range we find the two areas of Etruria and Latium divided by the Tiber; spurs of the Apennines isolate Latium from the plain of Campania while most of the toe of Italy consists of almost uninhabitable mountains, the chain of which is continued in Sicily, and the heel forms still another fairly isolated district.

These rather obvious facts have a close relation to the destiny of Italy, particularly since from the dawn of history there existed a marked difference between northern and southern Italy in racial stock and in civilization. In a word, the connections of north Italy are with Central Europe, especially the Alpine and upper Danubian region, while south Italy belongs within the Mediterranean sphere of influence, and the colonies of Magna Græcia and Sicily are merely an historical illustration of a condition which had existed from the time of the Stone Age.

If we begin at the beginning and ask if there are traces of the Paleolithic Period, we shall find that there are chipped flint implements of common types with little differentiation between the finds from north and south Italy, since there was not

much local variation at this time, and a stone hammer from France looked very much like one from Britain or Spain. The extraordinary achievements of the paleolithic artists of France or Spain have as yet found no counterparts in Italy, there are no fine carvings in bone or ivory, no skillful drawings on stone, and no frescoes like the magnificent scenes left by the artists of the Pyrenees district. Those splendid spirited animals, bison, reindeer, boars, or mammoths, whose likenesses were painted on the walls of subterranean caves, that "high-class sporting art" as it has been called, represents the greatest artistic achievement of early man, and in this the people of Italy appear to have had no share.

In the Neolithic Period, when polished implements of fine finish, made for specialized purposes —axes, chisels, scrapers, hatchets—took the place of the old tools of all work, and when great advance in the practical crafts of life was made, Italy was well represented. By this time the people were abandoning their cave dwellings for huts made of wicker daubed with clay, which rested on stone foundations or were built over shallow pits, and often grouped into regular villages; they had begun to make pottery which was sometimes adorned with decorations of simple rectilinear patterns incised in the clay, they had domesticated their animals and were cultivating grains and

fruits, and they were burying their dead in a regular ritualistic manner, supplying the departed with the things he would need in the next world.

Both in north and south Italy there are many traces of the Neolithic Period, in the later phases of which metal is for the first time coming into use so that there is a transitional stage during which the people of south Italy and Sicily were making painted pottery of a distinctive sort. As yet scholars are not entirely agreed as to where its closest affiliations lie, but there is a general agreement that before the close of the Neolithic Period the so-called Mediterranean race—which occupied the three peninsulas, Iberian, Italian, and Greek with its adjacent islands, as well as North Africa—had already established itself in these regions.

For the Bronze Age we shall accordingly turn to the more northerly areas. The Alps are often spoken of as an insuperable barrier, but various passes penetrate the mountain range which may also be circumvented at its eastern end. People began at an early time—probably even in the Neolithic Age—to filter into Italy from the region of Switzerland, and the resemblance between the Swiss Lake-Dwellers and those in the lake and marshy regions of Italy is too close to be the result of accident. The generally accepted view is that immigrants established themselves in north Italy, one group coming over the Alpine

passes and the other around the head of the Adriatic.

The two most characteristic types of settlement are known respectively as the *palafitte* and the *terremare*. In the margins of the lakes of northern Italy, particularly Como, Maggiore, and Garda, there are plentiful remains of pile-dwellings, settlements made by driving stakes into the shallows of the lake and erecting log platforms on them on which the huts were arranged in rows. These huts, which were made of logs and twigs smeared over with clay, were either round or rectangular in plan, and although no complete hut has survived, fragments of the clay daubing with impressions of twigs have been discovered in the deposits. Strangely enough, in a place surrounded by water many of these settlements appear to have been destroyed by fire, for in the deposits in the lake are many charred fragments, while the fire has baked the clay roofing material as hard as a brick. The dwellers in the *palafitte* were safe in their strongholds against attacks of enemies or wild beasts. Their flocks could pasture on the adjacent land and in case of need could be led over to the platforms for safety by a bridge which could be drawn up at night or in time of danger. Boats like dugout canoes have been found in the settlements. These lake-dwellers were evidently not very tidy people, for they threw all their rubbish

through the cracks of the platform into the lake, thus forming relic beds which are sometimes several feet in thickness.

The settlements were in use from the Neolithic Period to the Iron Age, although the Bronze Age is the most plentifully represented by jewelry, weapons, and implements such as chisels, axes, knives, razors, sickles, hooks, and chains. Pottery is of frequent occurrence; it is crude, hand-made ware of unpretending rather globular shapes, sometimes decorated with incised patterns or having as a distinctive characteristic a handle, *ansa lunata*, ending in a horned or crescent-shaped ornament. The bones of wild and domestic animals and of fish, and the remains of carbonized grain and fruits make it possible to reconstruct the menu of the inhabitants.

Akin to the *palafitte* in the lakes are the settlements called *terremare*, sometimes described as "lake-dwellings on land." A marshy site was usually selected, and the water was diverted into a moat for defense. The word *terremare* means marl earth of a rich sort, which less than a century ago was frequently used by the peasants for fertilizer. One day it was realized that these areas had been prehistoric settlements, akin to pile-dwellings and that the mounds were made up of masses of relics and organic matter.

Most of the *terremare* are in the valley of the

Po and its tributaries which form a veritable network in the plain. They are trapezoidal in shape, often several hundred meters in length and breadth, and surrounded by walls and ditches. A bridge crossed the moat to the mainland, and the streets were laid out at right angles with a *cardo* and *decumanus*, a tradition which survived in the plan of the Roman camp. The houses were arranged in rows and on one side of the settlement a specially restricted portion (the so-called *area limitata*) with its own moat around it, its own little streets, and a deep trench including pits for ritualistic purposes, is regarded as the sanctuary. Outside the walls, across the moat, was the cemetery, with its rows of urns containing the ashes of the dead. Cremation now replaces the older practice of inhumation which had been the usual method of burial nearly everywhere during the Stone Age. The objects found in the *terremare* are very similar to those from the *palafitte*, akin to Switzerland and Central Europe and entirely different from the Bronze Age of the Mediterranean which reached its finest climax in Crete.

For the study of the early Iron Age, one is in the embarrassing position of having a fairly overwhelming amount of material objects the publication of which is either non-existent or almost inaccessible to the general reader in highly specialized technical publications in various foreign

languages. There is no brief consecutive account of this period in English and very little synthetic interpretation of it in any tongue. Many of the earlier excavations took place before archæology had become a profession and were therefore unsystematic and inadequately recorded, the publication of others has been indefinitely postponed, and some of the museums are in a chaotic condition. Consequently, one must steer between the Scylla of minute descriptions of uncorrelated finds and the Charybdis of apparently superficial general statements. Certain outstanding facts can be spoken of with confidence and some clear distinctions indicated.

Once again we may note the difference between northern and southern Italy, the latter of which had little relation to Rome and little influence upon the early city. At the traditional date of the founding of Rome by Romulus the Hellenic colonies of Magna Græcia and Sicily had been established, but it was not until considerably later that Rome seems to have come into direct contact with them.

In northern and central Italy the early Iron Age is represented particularly well in three clearly differentiated areas, the Po valley, Etruria, and Latium, each with local peculiarities, although the resemblances lead us to believe that they are all parts of the same general civilization. During

the early Iron Age various elements from the Neolithic and Bronze Ages were either assimilated by the newcomers or persisted as unassimilated survivals. We cannot imagine that each phase of culture wiped out all traces of those that went before it; on the contrary, we have good evidence that old and new often continued side by side and that even if a new group of settlers became the dominant element the old population was by no means exterminated. The relation of the inhabitants of the early Iron Age to those of the Bronze Age in northern and central Italy is still a disputed point among scholars, some believing that the Iron Age simply represents a further development of the Bronze Age while others postulate a new invasion to account for it. The population which appears to have been plentiful in the Bronze Age in north Italy and which itself had existed side by side with the survivors of the neolithic peoples, was reinforced and reinvigorated by further immigrations coming approximately from the same areas of the Alpine-Danube districts and was subject also to certain foreign or overseas influences which played a more significant part as time went on.

In historical times geographical reasons contributed no little to the existence of Cisalpine Gaul as an area outside of Roman jurisdiction, and in the early Iron Age we find one area corresponding closely to this Gallic territory. The chief stations

of the western or so-called Golasecca group are in the neighborhood of the Ticino valley, a place familiar to readers of Book XXI of Livy. When Hannibal—by whatever route he took—finally got over the Alps, he found himself amongst Gallic tribes many of whom doubtless were the descendants of the people who had lived there in the early Iron Age. Just as the Duchy of Savoy has been now French, now Italian, according to the persuasive diplomacy of treaty makers for centuries and is now mixed in population though politically a part of France, so from time immemorial the north and south slopes of the western Alps have been part of the same culture, and it is from the house of Savoy that the present kings of Italy are descended.

But the western part of the Po valley has little connection with primitive Rome and does not figure in Livy's account of the earliest days. For that we must turn to the eastern part or the district known as Atestine (from Este where many discoveries were made) or Venetian.

Remains, discovered principally in tombs, were plentifully distributed through an area which extends from slightly west of Lake Garda to the mouth of the Po and around the head of the Adriatic. Although the weapons and some of the other articles indicate that they belong to the early part of the Iron Age, the most distinctive and conspicu-

ous objects were still made of bronze, especially large buckets or *situlæ* with zones of repoussé geometric designs or scenes of daily life, religion, or sport. Of bronze too were helmets, greaves, jewelry, bracelets, pendants, safety-pins or *fibulæ* of various shapes, statuettes and many objects, such, for example, as miniature wagons drawn by animals, which were used for religious purposes. This Venetic area is mentioned by Livy in the first chapter of the First Book in connection with the story of Antenor, who was said to have set out with Æneas from Troy and with his company of Trojans and Heneti to have settled in the district later known as Venetia. There is nothing impossible in the story of Antenor. It is one of those stories associated with a particular individual which cannot be proved or disproved, but far more than the balance of probability favors its acceptance as a tradition rooted in fact, a tradition which continued long beyond the days of the Roman Empire.¹ The persistence of clearly marked characteristics in this area has been strikingly emphasized by Professor Conway, who finds in Livy a forerunner of the picturesque and dramatic artists of the Venetian School of the Renaissance. Indeed the "Patavinity" of which Livy was accused by his contemporaries may mean far more than differences in style and dialect and be in reality a trait of per-

¹ See Chapter II.

sonality due to the many strands which went into the making of the inhabitants of the area of Venetia.

The other most notable area north of the Apennines is Bologna and its vicinity. This city was the Bononia of the Gauls, the Felsina of the Etruscans, and a nameless site of the pre-Etruscan inhabitants. Excavations have brought to light the remains of settlements of various periods as well as many cemeteries which contained plentiful objects attesting to the occupation of the vicinity during a time of considerable length.² One of the places at which early remains were found is known as Villanova, whence the name has often been given, inaccurately, to the whole civilization of this place and period. Perhaps a better term for the Iron Age as represented here is Umbro-Felsinian, for many scholars believe the pre-Etruscan settlers to have been of Umbrian stock, a branch of a group of people collectively spoken of as Italici and comprising amongst others, the Umbrians, Samnites, and Latins, although it may be venturesome to use any racial name.

In the early Iron Age there were three characteristic forms of tomb, the *pozzo* or well tomb, the *fossa* or trench tomb, and the *camera* or chamber tomb. These last were particularly characteristic of the Etruscans. A *pozzo* tomb is really a

² See p. 178.

well, at the bottom of which a little hollow (*pozetto*) has been dug out to hold the burial urn containing the ashes of the deceased. This hollow is roofed over with a slab, the shaft of the well is filled with earth and the ground smoothed over. Sometimes a *cippus* or tombstone was placed above the grave. The typical Villanovan urn which is generally surrounded by smaller vases, implements, jewelry, and weapons, is commonly of terra-cotta or more rarely of bronze and has been described as a combination of a bowl and an inverted pail. It is frequently decorated with incised geometrical designs, has a saucer-like cover, and only one handle. Globular pots (*ollæ*) were also used occasionally.

The *fossa* is merely a trench or pit in which the skeleton with his accessory possessions is laid out. These types may exist contemporaneously, but ordinarily the *pozzi* are earlier. In spite of differences in detail, there is considerable resemblance between the finds from early Bologna and Venetia. This Bolognese area is very rich in metal objects of which no less than fifteen thousand were found together in one place. Probably they formed part of the stock-in-trade of a bronze-founder, since they were not among the tombs but in a huge terra-cotta jar discovered in the center of the modern city. The mass of material belonging to the different local subdivisions of the Iron Age in the Museo

Civico is a revelation of the richness and importance of the early settlements.

In Etruria, which is the second great area for the Iron Age, most of the sites which were later occupied by the cities of the Etruscan League were formerly strongholds of a branch of the Italici akin to those beyond the Apennines. Various conditions subjected them to influences that did not touch their northern neighbors and the Etruscans of history appear to have been the offspring of immigrant invaders and the earlier population which had occupied the soil for some centuries. In the district known as Etruria there flourished a civilization which was pre-Etruscan and which antedates the coming of the people who gave their name to the territory bounded by the Arno, the Tiber, the Tyrrhenian Sea, and the Apennines. There appears to have been no sharp racial break and no sudden conquest which resulted in the substitution of a new culture in the place of the old. In general the safest clue to follow is the tombs, for here we find all three types: the *pozzi*, the *fossæ*, and the *cameræ*. The fact that both inhumation and cremation graves occur contemporaneously indicates that the old practice of the early inhabitants had by no means disappeared. Those inhabitants themselves seem to have fused with the Etruscan invaders from the east rather than to have been wiped out by their conquerors.

Early burials were frequently in hut-urns, miniature copies of a round house with vertical sides, a door in front and a sloping roof, of which the beams often terminate in birds' heads or serpents. From these we can picture the appearance of the wattle-and-daub (twig and clay) huts in which the population presumably lived. At a slightly later period we find bronze *cistæ* or boxes imitating a simple form of house with gable roof. Many of the tombs are lavishly furnished with all sorts of objects, pottery, armor, weapons, and jewelry. There are shields, helmets, swords, daggers, spearheads, great caldrons, smaller bowls, votive figurines in abundance, while jewelry of bronze, silver, and gold show the gorgeous appearance which these people must have presented. Several very archaic *stelæ* or grave-stones with warriors sculptured in low relief and with inscriptions on them show that writing was known in Italy at an earlier date than was once thought to be the case. Tradition made the Romans' knowledge of writing come through the people of Cumæ who had brought their alphabet from Eubœa, but the Etruscan alphabet seems to have been obtained from another Greek source. The tombs contained many objects imported from foreign countries, particularly Egypt, Asia Minor, and Greece, and as these objects can be dated they form touchstones for establishing the chronology of Etruria.

It is customary to speak of the Tiber as the dividing line between Etruria and Latium, but recent discoveries have shown that certain districts on the right bank—notably that known as the *Ager Faliscus*—more nearly resemble the civilization of Latium than that of Etruria. Doubtless, this area somewhat removed from the coast was less open to invasion by the seafaring Etruscans, and preserved more of the old elements of the earlier population.

So far we have spoken chiefly of the anonymous peoples from among whom Livy occasionally mentions some hero, but when we leave the Po valley, Bologna, and Etruria and cross the Tiber into Latium we find ourselves in the midst of a wealth of tradition about the heroes before the days of Romulus.

The story of Latium divides into three phases or acts of unequal length. We learn from ancient writers that Rome was only one of a group of hill-towns, that she was not always the mistress of the Campagna, and that her rise to power can be traced step by step over a period of several centuries; and we are told too that before the days of Rome's dominion there had been a kingdom of Latium which we may call Laurentian, followed later by the shifting of the seat of power to Alba Longa whence came Romulus and Remus for the founding of the city on the Palatine.

Now while the actual remains discovered do not show us a sequence as logically maintained as literature would lead us to infer, we have plenty of evidence that all three of these cities were occupied in the early Iron Age and that relationship among them was established at an early day.

It is Vergil who has given us the tale of the conquest of Latium by Æneas and his companions in alliance with Latinus the former king, against Turnus and his Rutulians assisted by more or less of Etruria, a story that proceeds like a gorgeous pageant of the tribes of Italy who shared in the fray, and one which has been so admirably interpreted by the late Dr. Warde Fowler in his little book *Vergil's Gathering of the Clans*. The narrative which has occupied Vergil through the last six books of the *Æneid* is summarized by Livy in less than two pages, but in most respects the accounts agree, for they both tell of the hospitable reception of the Trojans by Latinus, the alliance between them, the marriage of Lavinia to Æneas, the rage of Turnus her former suitor, and his waging of a war of revenge. The two points on which they diverge most widely are about Mezentius, whom Livy makes king of the Etruscans, holding his court at Cære, and persuaded to join Turnus against Æneas, and whom Vergil describes as an exile from Cære, who had taken refuge with the Rutulians, while the Etruscans through the good

offices of Evander become allies of the Trojans and Latins; and secondly, that the death of Turnus at the hands of Æneas forms the climax of Vergil's epic, while Livy says nothing further of Turnus but tells that Æneas was slain in the battle which was won by the Latins and was buried beside the river Numicius.

The great patriotic epic of Vergil in which Æneas personifies the spirit of Rome, closes appropriately with the death of Turnus, who, as Warde Fowler suggests, is the embodiment of everything that the Romans did not wish to be, the spirit of lawlessness and lack of self-control as contrasted with the balance and *pietas* of the hero Æneas; Livy, however, was not intending to point a dramatic moral of this kind, and for him Æneas and his exploits were but a momentary incident in the long story that he had to tell of Rome. Passing over Turnus with brief notice, he emphasizes the power of Etruria, perhaps dwelling on it because it was to play so important a part in the early struggles of Rome, and consequently exaggerating its importance in so remote a period by making it appear a united nation under Mezentius. We have no definite evidence of union in Etruria until a much later time, certainly through the greater part of the struggles of the kingdom and the republic the enemies are independent cities like Veii rather than a united nation. Vergil's Mezentius, a blood-

thirsty tyrant who has escaped from the righteous wrath of his subjects, is called king of Cære, and though all the Etruscans were demanding his surrender to their vengeance, he is not actually stated to have been king of the whole nation.

Livy, omitting the intermediate stops, brings Æneas from Sicily to the Laurentian territory, to a place called Troy, but Vergil adds how at dawn Æneas from his ship saw a great forest through which the Tiber ran to the sea while the songs of birds welcomed him as he entered the river. Carcopino, the latest student of this problem, believes that the landing-place and town of Troy described by Vergil were at Ostia, and thinks that changes in the course of the river have buried all traces of the first settlement of the immigrants on Latian soil. This may be the explanation of why no very early remains have yet been discovered at Ostia; the later city whose foundation was attributed to Ancus Marcius will be mentioned afterwards.

The news of the Trojans' arrival spread rapidly to the aged Latinus, and Æneas sent an embassy with olive branches and gifts to pay their respects to the king and seek his alliance while he himself proceeded with the building of his camp.

Vergil's description of the palace, a huge structure raised high on a hundred pillars, the king's temple and senate house and arsenal, tells of the audience hall with its ancestral throne upon which

Latinus sat in state to receive the envoys. It has been likened to the throne room in the Royal Villa at Cnossus, the ancestor of the Roman basilica with its dais and seat of justice, but we can rebuild the reverend pile of Latinus only in our imagination—as Vergil seems to have done—for there is nothing left on the site of the ancient city, nor have we any reason to suppose that the early inhabitants of Italy erected splendid palaces like the Labyrinth, the palace of Priam with its fifty rooms, the fortress of Mycenæ, or the goodly house of Erechtheus. These still lingered in men's memories, but it was only in the minds of the poets that they can be said to have existed in Italy, and the cruel truth is that they probably never existed there any more than did the towers of Cloud-Cuckoo-Land. But the ineradicable tradition of kinship, of descent of the Romans from the Trojans and of the connections between Trojans and Greeks—a tradition now accepted by many scholars in the light of the study of similar cultures which exist in these lands—makes this poetic fiction more plausible than the most scientific scepticism.

But even if one is inclined to give credence to what used to be regarded as “mere poetry,” there remains the question of interpretation to confuse the issues. Carcopino has come to the conclusion that there never was any city called Laurentum, but that Lavinium was the capital of the district

known as the *Ager Laurentum*, and he places Lavinium at the modern Prattica di Mare whose acropolis is now occupied by the Casino Borghese.

The fact that five different sites between the Tiber and Ardea have been identified by twenty or more scholars as the site of Laurentum and that no one of these definitely eliminates the others, leads him to the conclusion that a place so hard to discover can never have existed. Senator Lanciani, partly because of the old *Via Laurentia* which led to Tor Paterno, identifies the latter as the site, and accepting the usual version that Lavinium was founded after the arrival of Æneas, suggests that Laurentum soon lost its importance and identity through the establishment of Lavinium in a better place about four miles to the east. Vergil, according to Carcopino, recognizes Lavinium as the city of Latinus to which Æneas came, as stated in the opening line of the epic, but does not mention the city by name, preferring to use a paraphrase.

In any case, the identification of Lavinium with Prattica has been generally accepted. This rather flat-topped hill consists of two parts, the smaller of which, to the north, was the site of the oldest settlement where were preserved the *sacra*, and the *penates* that became deities of the Roman state, a belief consecrated by the Sibylline books which made Lavinium Rome's parent city. The southern plateau was five times as large as the northern in

extent and each was about ninety meters in height, towering some fifty meters above the valley road of Fosso di Prattica by which one coming from the sea or the Tiber must reach the city. The surrounding ravines and high situation of the town correspond admirably to Vergil's descriptions. From the top one had a wide view over the wild and uncultivated district sacred to the *di agrestes* of Latium, like Faunus and Terra, or even Jupiter Indiges whose cult was in a grove on the banks of the Numicius, and with whom Æneas became identified when he died and was buried beside the river, probably the modern Rio Torto that divides the *Ager Laurentum* from the territory of the Rutulians.

The remains of the city are scanty and consist of a few pieces of the circuit wall built of large oblong blocks of tufa, some fragments that have rolled down the hill, and various small objects which furnish a valuable clue to the dating, since they represent the archaic period, the time of Etrusco-Campanian influence, and the imperial era.

To the oldest of these, which is the only one that need concern us here, belong hand-made vases of the usual Latin types, bronze *fibulæ*, spiral armlets and rings, spear-heads, and a dagger of the triangular Ægean type which is significant because a foreign importation. They are about contempor-

ary with the earliest objects found in the Esquiline cemeteries and somewhat later than the oldest remains from the Alban Hills. There is, however, hardly enough difference in them to cause us to discard the traditions of the founding of Alba Longa from Lavinium.

The remains from the early settlements in the inadequately known area between the sea and Rome indicate that overseas trade had not begun very early, but that some of the so-called coast towns became more flourishing in the great period of commerce with foreign parts.

This district, with its sandy soil and lack of harbors, evidently had but few centers of habitation, since Pliny in describing them from northwest to southeast mentions first Ostia, then *oppidum Laurentum*, the grove of Jupiter Indiges, the river Numicius, and Ardea. In contradiction to this statement Carcopino identifies the Numicius with the Canale dello Stagno in the marshes near Ostia, then follow in order a small stream which empties near Tor Paterno, the Fosso di Pratica which passes to the west of Lavinium, the Fosso della Crocetta whose headwaters rise just east of the same town, the Rio Torto coming from the slopes of the Alban Hills and the Fosso Incastro whose four branches draining down from the districts around Aricia and Lanuvium enclose the city of Ardea.

Among the towns of Latium enumerated by Pliny as lost, but mentioned by Livy or Vergil in connection with the kings, were Ficana, Telleni, and Politorium which were destroyed by Ancus Marcius who removed their inhabitants to Rome. Politorium, whose site is unknown, was said to have been founded by Polites, one of the sons of Priam, and as its fate is coupled with that of Telleni and Ficana which was not far from Dragoncello on the Tiber, we may believe that it too lay in this district known as the *Campus Saloni*. Telleni survived later than the two other cities, but the statements which Dionysius and Strabo make about it are not definite enough for us to tell where it was situated.

This portion of Latium, much of which now forms the royal preserves, has apparently always been a great tract of wooded or marshy lands with almost no towns of real importance since the palmy days of Laurentine ascendency. Across the border from Latium was the country of the Rutulians with its capital Ardea.

There is, happily, no doubt as to the position of this city which figures so prominently in the *Aeneid* but which does not come into Livy's narrative until the very last chapters of Book I, in the reign of Tarquin the Second. Although the Rutulians are called a very wealthy nation "con-

sidering the country and age they lived in," the results of excavation do not show that it was any richer than the Alban Hills, Velitræ or Rome.

Like many of the Latin settlements, it was situated on a tongue of land protected by streams on either side, with cliffs scarped to make them more defensible and with walls of rough tufa blocks. The surviving traces of a city do not, however, appear to belong to the earliest settlement. Ardea was in a good geographical position, being connected with the region of Monte Cavo by easy slopes and having a port as good as that of Satricum, but owing to the fact that the latter was the outlet and inlet for the rich city of Præneste while the former's market consisted only of the simpler towns in the Alban Hills and among the Rutulians, Ardea affords few examples of real wealth in her early days, although she was the only place on the Latian coast where remains of the earliest Iron Age have been discovered.

In the seventh century, when Etruria was very prosperous and had established her power particularly firmly at Præneste, this coast region seems to have been less under oriental influence than were the Etruscan spheres of power, but nevertheless it shows an increasing importance over what it had exhibited in the *pozzo* period, and by the time of the first treaty between Rome and Carthage (which there seems no reason to deny to the year

509) Ardea is mentioned among the other coast cities subject to Rome to which no injuries are to be done.

Livy tells us that over-population caused Ascanius to leave Lavinium to the care of his mother while he built for himself a new city at the foot of the Alban Mount, called from its situation Alba Longa. A few miles to the southeast of Rome there rises from the Campagna the ring of mountains known as the Alban Hills, whose circumference is formed by the sides of a now extinct volcano which must have been of huge extent. In the center of the basin rises the peak of Monte Cavo, visible as a landmark for miles away and surrounded by the broken masses of lower hills which have been heaved upward in the volcanic floor, near the east and southeast margins of which are the beautiful little lakes Albano and Nemi which themselves were once craters of smaller volcanoes. These basins within the basin are deep and blue and exquisitely wooded, and must have afforded beautiful sites for the villages that arose on their slopes, the first of which may have been Ascanius's "Long White Town." No positive identification of this has been possible, the destruction by the Romans did its work so thoroughly that not one stone was left standing on another, but the plentiful relics of the early Iron Age at various places on the banks of the lake show that this district was

inhabited early. The easy access from Ardea or Lavinium to the Alban Hills by way of the valleys of the little rivers, indicates that communication may have existed very early although we are not able to tell whether the settlers from Lavinium went up the stream to Alba Longa or whether the Albans followed down towards an outlet on the sea.

The most probable site for the town was on the east side of the lake where a long ridge corresponds to the descriptions, but the cemeteries are scattered thick, particularly around the northern and western sides of the crater. Allowing for minor differences, we may take the burials at Il Pascolare and Monte Cucco as typical. Below the present surface, lies a layer of *humus* more than a foot in thickness resting on a stratum of *peperino* three feet deep. This covers over a layer which shows impressions of grass and leaves, identified as *lolium perenne*, then comes a four-foot layer of volcanic ash underneath which are hut-urns containing the ashes of the deceased accompanied by various little subsidiary vases and the regular paraphernalia of the Iron Age. The hut-urns had therefore been covered with a thick volcanic layer on the surface of which grass had flourished until it in turn had been submerged by another volcanic stratum. Livy says that it rained stones in the year 640 B.C., and again when speaking of

the year 212, he mentions what was probably another eruption, but we cannot believe that these are the two strata represented, since the contents of the tombs are very archaic. It need cause no surprise to find shepherds and farmers living on the slopes of the volcano, since the soil is favorable for agriculture and particularly for grapes, and even now the sides of Vesuvius and Etna are crowded with vineyards whose owners may at any moment be forced to flee and abandon everything. This district must have been subject to very intensive forms of agriculture, as indeed might be inferred from the numbers of people buried in the vicinity. As for the homes of the living, between Marino and Palazzola on the east side there have been found square hut-foundations, hard blackened floors, charred remains and domestic utensils, which may even be the houses of Alba Longa itself, and traces of occupation are widely distributed about the lakes. This is but natural in view of the fame of the great center of the worship of the Latins, the sanctuary of Jupiter Latiaris on top of Monte Cavo, and several of the cemeteries seem as extensive as those of the Roman group itself.

Throughout the whole district of Latium the tombs are remarkably homogeneous in character, and they seem poor indeed to those accustomed to the rich contents of the graves in Etruria. For

more than a hundred years discoveries have been taking place, ever since the time in 1816 when peasants near Castel Gandolfo found the little huts so deeply buried, but unfortunately no careful or scientific accounts of the discoveries were kept for many years. Consequently the objects are scattered through various Roman museums with little or no information as to when and where they were found, articles from graves of different types and periods have been mixed in hopeless confusion, but although the *pozzo* and *fossa* tombs sometimes existed contemporaneously, in general the *fossæ* contain better objects and may be considered later. The oldest finds are the local hand-made pottery, dark and unpainted, frequent hut-urns, simple types of *fibulæ* and hairpins, amber and bone used for necklaces or to decorate *fibulæ*, and almost no weapons at all. The early inhabitants appear to have been peaceful agriculturists rather than fighters, living quietly by themselves, for there is no evidence of foreign trade in the *pozzo* tombs and this very lack of imported objects makes it difficult to assign an exact date to them since some authorities attribute them to the ninth and eighth centuries, while others believe them to belong to the twelfth or eleventh. This early isolation of the Latins in contrast with the Etruscans gives way in the *fossa* period to a time of contact with traders as is shown by the occurrence of glass beads, proto-

Corinthian pottery, etc., which belong to the eighth to sixth centuries, but although an advance on the *pozzi* this civilization is still far behind that of the same date in Etruria, and the Alban towns can never have reached a very high pitch of prosperity. Before long Rome and Ardea increase in significance and the hill-towns lose even their little importance.

This corresponds fairly well to the legends, by which Alba Longa rose to power before the founding of Rome by Romulus and was later outstripped by her daughter, but the evident prosperity of the Alba Longa which was destroyed in the reign of Tullius Hostilius has not been demonstrated by the contents of the cemeteries. To be sure, Livy tells us that the inhabitants, dazed and bewildered at first, ended by snatching up whatever they could save from the impending ruin and as the population was moved to Rome and incorporated into that city they doubtless carried their belongings with them to their new homes on the Cælian hill and were buried on the Esquiline near by.

But though the mortal inhabitants of Alba Longa moved away, their gods, whose temples had been the only buildings spared at the time of the destruction, recalled them to continue the religious services according to the rites of their native country by sending prodigies like the rain of stones or the loud voice calling from the grove on the top

of the hill, and even the Romans instituted a nine days' festival in answer to the warning. The frequent repetition of this prodigy of a thick shower of stones from heaven, like hail pelted down to earth by the winds, shows that it was not only the Romans who contributed to the destruction of the city. The shouts of the horsemen, the crashing of buildings, the clouds of dust, the indiscriminate leveling of everything to the ground, all contributed to what Livy tersely sums up in the words "and one short hour consigned to demolition and ruin the work of four hundred years during which Alba Longa had stood"; but that ruin must have been submerged under the intermittent visitations of the deluges of stones and ashes. The temple of Jupiter Latiaris continued as a great federal shrine for centuries, having served first for the union of the Latins under Alba and later for Latins and Romans together, until eventually it passed under Roman control in the days of Tarquin the Second when the treaty with the Latins was renewed. No specific mention of Alba was made in this treaty although the former agreement under Tullius Hostilius had provided that the entire Alban nation with its colonies should fall under the rule of Rome. With rather neat sophistry Tarquinius Secundus claimed his control of the Latins as an ancient right on the grounds that all Latins were sprung from Alba,

and having made a horrible example of the unfortunate Turnus of Aricia, who had urged the Latins to maintain their independence, he had little difficulty in persuading the Latins to sign the treaty, although the advantage lay on the side of Rome, and at the grove of Ferentina, probably near the present Marino by the Alban Lake, the assembly of the fighting men was held, and the Romans and Latins were brigaded together under the Roman centurions.

The restlessness and troubles between Rome and the Latins, which led to revolt by the Latins and gradual domination by Rome, do not fall within the compass of this early period. For that we must turn to the city of Rome herself and see how during the regal period she extended her power in a slowly widening circle over her neighbors, either assimilating them one by one or leaving them as outposts and watch-towers of her rule in the Campagna.

Meanwhile, before leaving the brave men before Romulus, we must return to a contemporary of Æneas who is closely linked in tradition with Livy's native Padua.

CHAPTER II

ANTENOR THE TROJAN

THE predominant importance of Æneas in the history of Italy has overshadowed his colleague Antenor, who deserves to be rescued from comparative oblivion and to be cleared of the accusation which transformed the old hero of the *Iliad* into a traitor, since apparently it was inconceivable that anyone could otherwise have escaped from Troy. The friendliness of Antenor towards Menelaus and Odysseus, the ambassadors of the Greeks, his chivalrous appreciation of the qualities of his enemy Odysseus, his gentle manner towards Helen, his advice to restore her to the Greeks, were interpreted by most of the later writers to mean that he could not have been loyal to the Trojan cause, but there is no suggestion of this in Homer's charming picture of the sage seated upon the tower at the Scæan gate among the elders, and although a kind of rejuvenation is implied by Livy, since the leader of a wholesale migration of a people in search of new homes in a distant land can hardly have been a very old person far beyond the fighting age, in

other respects his Antenor accords with the Homeric tradition of a respected old man whose close connection with *Æneas* is further indicated by the statement that two of Antenor's sons accompanied *Æneas* into battle.

Although Antenor himself was too old to take part in the fighting, he was well represented by his eleven sons, several of whom distinguished themselves and fell in their country's cause after gallant struggles against the bravest of the Greek heroes. Each of these sons is individualized in a few words, and of special interest for our purpose is Iphidamas, who had been brought up at the court of his Thracian grandfather. Theano, Antenor's wife, the fair-cheeked priestess of Athene, was the daughter of Cisseus, king in Thrace, and a further connection between Troy and Thrace is suggested by the tradition preserved in Vergil that Hecuba also was a daughter of Cisseus. From Homer one gains the impression that the beauty and goodness of Theano and the courage of "horse-taming Antenor" were worthily represented by their splendid young sons, and it seems almost incredible that Antenor himself could ever have been perverted into a traitor capable of betraying the city for whose sake he had lost so much.

Homer makes no connection between Antenor and the Eneti of Paphlagonia, who were still un-

der the leadership of Pylæmenes in the *Iliad*, but Livy is closer to Strabo's version which states that the Eneti, when they lost their leader, crossed to Thrace . . . and reached Venetia, and that according to some, Antenor and his sons took part in the migration and settled at the head of the Adriatic. The most generally accepted modern view is that these two far-separated areas are associated merely because of the chance resemblance of the names. Vergil's Antenor comes up the Illyrian coast past the Liburnians to the gulf's head and beyond the springs of Timavus. He builds Patavium for the Trojans, thus giving them a place and name. Servius adds Antenor's wife and two sons to the party, and calls the king of the Euganei, Veleso. He says it was not Illyria or Liburnia, but Venetia, which Antenor held, while Livy says that when the Heneti and Trojans reached Italy they expelled the Euganei, who dwelt between the sea and the Alps, and took possession of the country. Antenor and his followers, then, were not pioneers settling in wild country among barbarous tribes and bringing civilization for the first time to that district, but like Æneas in Latium they found other peoples established and contended with them for possession of the land. Unlike Æneas and his Trojans who, according to tradition, fused with the earlier inhabitants and formed the Latins, the companions of Antenor

are said to have driven out the Euganei and taken over their territory. History is full of instances where one tribe or race is stated to have been expelled or even exterminated by the newcomers, but the complete wiping out or displacement of a people is a thing which seldom happens in fact. Massacres and butcheries are fortunately the exception rather than the rule, and there is no reason to believe that all the Euganei went away leaving none to live under the new masters. Probably some of them remained behind when the majority were pushed northwards and westwards towards Lake Garda, Iseo, and the country north of Brescia, where excavations testify to a varied population in northeastern Italy. Livy's narrative indicates that Veneti and Trojans shared in this conquest, since the whole people was known by the former name, while the place of landing was called Troy and the canton Trojan.

A puzzling question is why Livy does not connect Antenor with his own Padua, as has been done by others, since it offered him an excellent chance to claim as long and distinguished an ancestry for his city as for Rome itself. There is no suggestion in Livy that Antenor was a traitor in spite of Servius's comment that Livy regards him as such; Servius has absolutely no ground for laying the responsibility at Livy's door, wherever the story may have arisen. But when to this

day the tomb of Antenor is exhibited as one of the sights of Padua, Livy's reticence on the point is extraordinary.

The connection of Antenor with Padua was observed into imperial times. Games which were celebrated every thirty years in his honor are said by Tacitus to have been instituted by Antenor himself, the fugitive from Troy.

Thus the literary evidence of post-Homeric times indicates a tradition of relationship between Troy and the northeastern part of Italy, and it remains to be seen whether the archæological evidence substantiates this tradition and throws any light upon the route which Antenor may have taken.

The district in northeastern Italy known as Venetia is scarcely capable of exact definition, since its boundaries varied at different times. Even in the days of recorded history it belonged successively to the Veneti, the cisalpine Gauls, and the X Region of Augustus, while tradition has already indicated a very mixed population for an earlier date.

Border towns are spoken of as belonging now to the Veneti, now to the Gauls, Rhætians, or Euganei, and the river boundaries are variously stated as extending from somewhere about the Adige on the west to the Formio or the Timavus on the east.

In prehistoric times the frontiers were doubtless still more uncertain, and it is futile to try to circumscribe too exactly the habitat of a people who were constantly at war with their neighbors. With the coming of the Gauls, the Veneti remained like an island in a sea of Gallic tribes and were included in Cisalpine Gaul.

Under Augustus, Regio X included Venetia and Istria, an arrangement which appears to rest on a sound racial as well as geographical basis, for the Veneti were incessantly fighting with their neighbors the Gauls, and although in the course of time they became almost indistinguishable from them in respect to customs and dress, they preserved their own language. They sometimes took the side of the Romans against the Gallic tribes of the cisalpine area and appear to have been rather more advanced than some of their neighbors, for Livy speaks of the importance of Patavium in 302 and contrasts the Veneti with their contemporaries the Illyrians, Liburnians, and Istrians, who were mostly pirates.

It is almost hopeless to attempt to solve the problem of the race of the very ancient Veneti on the basis of the similarity of their name with those of peoples elsewhere; nevertheless, the ancients had their own views as to the origin of the Veneti. Strabo believed them to be Gauls akin to those whom Cæsar had met on the borders of

the ocean, and who invaded Italy, but he expresses his personal opinion with a certain reserve. Herodotus calls them an Illyrian tribe, and connects them with the Illyrians on the other side of the Adriatic, and the resemblance between the Venetic and Illyrian languages would be another point in favor of associating the Veneti with the Illyrians rather than with the Gauls.

The supposed relationship between the Adriatic Veneti and Homer's Paphlagonian Eneti might be explained by the hypothesis that both were Thracians or Illyrians whom migrations had scattered to Asia Minor and to Italy. The commonly accepted view of migrations of Phrygians and other tribes to Asia Minor where they formed a considerable element in the Troad and elsewhere, makes a Thracian migration to Paphlagonia entirely within the bounds of possibility.

Pliny says the Veneti were of Trojan race and quotes Cato as his authority for the statement. Certainly, the Trojans were of very mixed stock and a good share of European blood went to their making.

On the basis of the literary statements alone there is therefore plenty of evidence regarding their customs and career to differentiate the Veneti from their neighbors. The archæological remains as well as certain ethnological survivals to this day point to the same conclusion.

The persistence of their own language is supplemented by a certain permanence of racial characteristics that survived the successive invasions which the territory of the Veneti experienced. Livy points out that they were immune from Etruscan rule which was so widespread "*excepto Venetorum angulo*," but their isolation from influences moving in a northerly direction did not save them from invasions and influences which came from the opposite quarter.

Although the remains in Venetia and Gaul in the early Iron Age are by no means identical, affinities with Illyria are more clearly marked, since both are generally regarded as offshoots from the Hallstatt civilization which forked southwards on either side of the Adriatic.

The earliest period of the Iron Age in Central Europe has taken its name from Hallstatt in the Tyrol, while the second period is called La Tène from the place in Switzerland where it was first known and studied. The three Venetic periods extend from the *pozzo* or *buca* to the *fossa* graves and fit into the general framework of the Hallstatt and early La Tène periods of transalpine Europe. By some scholars the three periods have been assigned to the Euganean, the Venetian, and the Gallic inhabitants of the area. In any case, they indicate a mixed population, which is just what the traditions have led us to expect. It would

take us too far afield into the details of prehistoric archæology to describe fully the finds from the tombs. There seems no violent break between periods I and II, and for that reason both are attributed to the Veneti rather than to their predecessors, the Euganei, but it is certainly true that period II exhibits characteristic traits and at the same time shows a remarkable advance in the arts, one contributing cause being the progress made in metal work which is richly represented, and which was freely imitated in terra-cotta, a custom which we often remark elsewhere in Italy. The frequent occurrence of imported articles made of amber and glass and the introduction of new techniques and motives point to an increased commercial activity. Many objects belonging to period III are distinctly Celtic in character and indicate a foreign—or new—element, but the inscriptions continue to be written in the Venetian language. The multifarious objects so copiously illustrated in the works of Montelius and in the *Notizie degli Scavi* find their closest counterparts around the head of the Adriatic and along its opposite side, where similar weapons, jewelry, pottery, and particularly the characteristic *situlæ* are plentifully represented, both by the early Hallstatt form of *cista à cordon* with its vertical sides, and by the later *situla* of curved outline with its zones of repoussé decoration. To the earlier period be-

long also the buckets ornamented with designs in dotted or punched technique, and the patterns and motives of the early geometric style of Central Europe, while the second period exhibits strong influences of an oriental character in the winged animals, heraldic groups, and motives which repeat those of the pre-Attic pottery. This Græco-oriental influence is obviously an importation, although it is impossible to tell whether it reached the upper Adriatic *via* the Danube or through the Adriatic along the old amber route which led to Greece. The *cistæ* evidently became a firmly established industry in Este and in Bologna. The Este type predominates in Central Europe, and although Grenier believes that it was derived from the Bologna type which, in turn, he thinks came from Etruria, few agree with this explanation of a style so particularly characteristic of the Venetian district and its vicinity and one which forms a fairly homogeneous group.

The remains of this Venetian industry radiate out from Este as a center, extending over the level plain, along the coast at the head of the Adriatic and up a number of the Alpine valleys between Italy and Noricum. Going from west to east remains are plentiful in the vicinity of Este, in the province of Padua, and in the eastern part of the Venetian plain as far as the Isonzo.

Up this valley in an important strategic posi-

tion was St. Lucia with its necropolis of seven thousand tombs rich in bronzes and pottery, while the finds from Gorizia and Caporetto in the same valley show the close ethnical unity of this district with the rest of Venetia, as well as with Istria.

The tradition of the founding of Pola by the Argonauts forms a further link with the heroic age of the Black Sea area.

Along the mountain passes leading from Venetia to the transalpine districts many remains have been found which show that the routes must have been in use from an early date. One led by the Piave and Cadore valleys to the Tyrol and the valleys of the Gail and the Drav. Farther to the west near the Brenner Pass in the Isel valley and the Valle di Non, similar objects indicate close connections with the Veneti. The Gail and Drav valleys lead eastward to Styria, where the likeness to the Venetian objects is less close, but in Carniola around Laibach the resemblances are more marked, although Carniola does not reach the coast.

On the Illyrian side of the Adriatic the most famous sites are Glasinač and Jezerine in Bosnia. If we plunge into the comparatively unexplored wilderness of the Bosnian hinterland, we find a number of sites along the Roman roads which often followed old tracks and which suggest the routes of penetration by which invaders entered.

Some of these stations date back, like Butmir, to the neolithic time, while others exhibit a succession of periods. Glasinač itself was on a plateau in a strategic position between the Adriatic and the Danube on the Roman road from Serajevo to the Drina.

In general the discoveries have been made along the river valleys most of which eventually find their way to the Save. The Drina, the Bosna, the Unna, and their subsidiary branches have afforded much material, while the network of rivers has made communication fairly easy.

Important connecting links between Bosnia and Serbia and northern Italy are the crescent-shaped handles characteristic of the *terremare* but surviving into the Iron Age, and the white-filled incised pottery with spiral and meander designs which occurs in the Bosnian-Serbian-Trojan area in the neolithic period and is in use along the Italian coast of the Adriatic in the Bronze Age.

As early as neolithic days there apparently existed a broad zone of culture extending along the valley of the Danube and its southern tributaries from the regions north of the Adriatic to Troy and even farther beyond into Asia Minor, showing certain distinctive features, particularly the use of pottery with spiral decorations in incised or stamped work or in relief. The more or less homogeneous culture within this broad strip

indicates that communication back and forth must have been opened at a remote period, and geographical conditions show that intercourse could easily have been maintained between the north-western Balkan peninsula and the lower Danube as well as with the Hallstatt region.

The great significance of Noricum as a distributing center of the early Iron Age culture with its characteristic geometric designs particularly noteworthy in the earliest Hallstatt period, has been recognized for a long time; but additional interest and stimulus were afforded by the work of Sir William Ridgeway, who, in his *Early Age of Greece*, identified the people from the head of the Adriatic who sent their branches southward into the peninsulas with the Achaeans of Homer. Many who are unwilling to accept this identification have recognized the importance of the Hallstatt civilization which was diffused in various directions to many parts of Europe. The southeastern or Illyrian group extends from north-eastern Italy around the head of the Adriatic to the valley of the Drav.

The people who spread this civilization to various parts of Central Europe were influenced by the earlier inhabitants whom they found in these districts, and one group might be called Illyro-Hallstatt, another Celto-Hallstatt, and so forth, from the natives with whom they mingled. To

assign any ethnical name to the people who occupied Hallstatt itself is more than the evidence at our disposal permits, particularly since the mixture of burials and cremations in the necropolis points to a fusion of peoples. But while the racial identification is uncertain, some features of their art and customs afford striking resemblances to other peoples. The custom of veiling the urns, mentioned in the *Iliad*, is illustrated by French tombs of the Hallstatt period in which bits of fabric were found placed over the urns. The comparatively late funerary mounds of eighth-century Greece connect *via* Bosnia with those of Central Europe and Gaul, the latter of which are exactly like the tombs of the late Bronze Age, thus showing that the type of burial was an old one though not equally distributed. Cenotaphs occur in Burgundy and elsewhere in France; they were common in Greece and Rome and may be traced back as far as Homeric times. The literary evidence for the Homeric period has been substantiated by the discovery by Schliemann of several near Ilium and on the Thracian side of the Hellespont, and they were so common in Thrace that there is some difficulty in regarding them as honorary dedications. Taken alone, they may not signify much, but they afford one more link between Troy and the Adriatic by way of Thrace.

Another connection may be traced through the

Illyrians themselves, although here we are on unstable ground, because the name first appears in the fifth century and the ancients did not always agree on what the name meant in either the geographical or ethnological sense. According to Herodotus, the Veneti were a branch of the Illyrians, and philologists say their proper names are identical. Another group of the Illyrians whose territory was bounded on the south by Macedonia and Pæonia were called Dardanians, which was the name of people in the Troad who are generally recognized as immigrants from this district. Other branches of this stock became masters of Illyria and Thrace, continued their conquests into Pannonia, and also occupied Istria. It is no wonder that these aggressive people, who seem to have dominated or absorbed their neighbors, were often confused with the Thracians.

The Thracians are mentioned among the allies of the Trojans, and another bond between them was the cult of the Cabiri which was said to have passed from Phrygia to the Troad and the isles of Thrace. This must refer particularly to the famous sanctuary at Samothrace, the island used by Dardanus as a stepping-stone en route to the Trojan side. We have already spoken of Antenor's connection with Thrace through his wife.

Another noteworthy feature is the affiliation between certain north-Greek and Trojan proper

names. This is true in general of a large number of names, and in particular of those of Antenor and his sons, many of which contain elements especially characteristic of Macedonia, Thrace, and the regions of northern Greece. There seems, therefore, to be ample evidence for a long-established relationship between Troy and the Thracians who form the connecting link that leads on to the Illyrians.

It remains to be seen what routes were open to invaders, explorers, or merchants, and to search for any material remains that may serve as landmarks on the road.

Although the most obvious corridor to the west is the Danube, reached through the Morava-Vardar trench, which had been from time immemorial the principal route to and from the *Æ*gean, invaders from Thrace may have crossed the Balkan Peninsula from east to west and reached Illyria (or Bosnia) by a more direct though exceedingly difficult way across the mountain ranges. A more circuitous route, northward to the Danube or Save, westward along the Save and southward up one of its tributaries was not only possible but practicable and well-used.

The invaders must have found their way early up these rivers since the neolithic remains are so plentiful, but as Bosnia and Herzegovina were off the main line of traffic from east to west they

continued in the neolithic period long after their neighbors had learned the use of metal, and seem to have had no true Bronze Age themselves.

The remains representative of the early Iron Age in Bosnia do not show so long and continuous a development as those in Hallstatt or the Venetian district, and this culture appears to have reached them from the region of Noricum. The crescent around the head of the Adriatic is so intimately connected with the two sides, and the remains are so homogeneous and so closely affiliated with Hallstatt itself that it is difficult to accept Vergil's statement that Antenor cruised along the Illyrian coast and reached Italy in that way.

No remains of this characteristic civilization of the early Iron Age have been discovered on the coast of Bosnia, although we might perhaps explain it by imagining that Antenor went directly to the springs of the Timavus without stopping, but the district at the head of the Adriatic which is so abundantly furnished with examples lay along the basin of the Danube.

Abandoning the Danube itself and following its tributary, the Save, the easiest route lay over the Peartree Pass to the Adriatic and the level plains of northern Italy, and was a starting point for the trade route between the Adriatic and the Baltic. The route by water was interrupted for only a short stretch over the comparatively easy pass.

The ancients believed that a river connection existed between the head of the Adriatic and the Danube. Pliny tells us that the Argonauts sailed up the Danube and the Save to the head of navigation on the Laibach, where they built a settlement called Nauportus because the Argo had been carried across the mountains on men's shoulders to the Adriatic. There is nothing impossible in the story, and doubtless some Greeks who took this route and made a portage over the pass were identified with the Argonauts.

Neither is there anything intrinsically impossible in the story of a migration from Troy by way of the Danube valley. The homogeneous though varied civilization discovered along the Danube and its tributaries, and in the Hallstatt area and its branches on the two shores of the Adriatic points to a connection between two important stations widely separated, namely, Hallstatt and Troy, and the story of Antenor seems, as far as the archæological evidence is concerned, to rest on a reasonable basis.

Livy himself has supplied the link between Venetia and Latium, for his early days were associated with the city of Antenor and his later years with the city of Romulus.

CHAPTER III

THE FORUM AND LOW-LYING DISTRICTS OF ROME

Of the delightful etchings of Rome made by Piranesi in the eighteenth century, none is more interesting than that in which the Forum figures as a pasture with cattle grazing among the columns of the Temple of Castor and Pollux, almost the sole remnants of antiquity showing above the level of the ground. "Campo Vacchino," the old nickname of the Forum in the Middle Ages still held true of it until past the middle of the nineteenth century. That the name was of infinitely old historical association was probably not dreamt of by the residents of Rome who conferred on the Forum the obvious name for a pasture, and yet the earliest records or tradition available to us indicate that it was just exactly such a place in the primitive days of Rome, that the cattle grazed in the low-lying swampy ground between the Capitoline and the Palatine hill and that it was their lowing which had given the name of Porta Mugonia to the gate on the side nearest that quarter.

Those of us who know the Forum as a neat and orderly place with its paved streets and its charming flowers rambling over ancient walls or planted to reproduce little gardens of ancient times—a place which within the past generation has been admirably excavated and hospitably opened to visitors—must seek in early pictures or in travelers' descriptions for a knowledge of the Campo Vacchino, and likewise in the days of Livy one had to think backward several centuries to imagine the old meeting-place which existed long before the days of the buildings familiar to men of the Augustan age.

It is with the earliest Rome that we must concern ourselves, and while there still are many fragments missing for a complete reconstruction of the picture, we can from literary evidence, tradition and archæological discoveries rebuild in our imaginations a fairly substantial city of the earliest days.

Back in the remotest times long before the famous journey up the Tiber which Vergil tells us that Æneas made on his visit to Evander, the river seems to have been far larger than it later became, the low ground where the Forum now lies was a lake out of which the hills of Rome reared their heads as islands or as promontories. A possible trace of this difference is seen in the names of the seven hills of later days, for those known as *montes*

were doubtless islands while the *colles* were projecting capes. Gradually, with the subsidence of the water, we find the lake becoming a marsh with brooks, the largest of which was called the Spinon, running through it until at the close of the period of the kings in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus the famous Cloaca Maxima was constructed to drain off the surplus water. This imposing triumph of engineering is now regarded by archæologists as of great antiquity and can easily belong to the sixth century B.C. as implied by Livy. The principle of the arch and the construction of public works on the grand scale may be seen in many Etruscan cities and with their introduction the improvement in conditions in Rome must have been tremendous.

But before the days of the Tarquins the Forum had been the scene of many exciting events, and tradition associated various monuments of great antiquity with departed kings.

One of the oldest things in the Forum, about which, however, we learn practically nothing from literature, is the ancient necropolis or *sepulcretum*. Its very existence was unsuspected until the excavations inaugurated by Senator Boni in the closing years of the nineteenth century, excavations which have been carried out to such a successful point, but which are still only partially published.

This ancient cemetery, situated about the middle of the north side of the Forum close by the Temple of Antonius and Faustina, is a typical example of a burial ground of the early Iron Age in Italy. In it we find side by side the two primitive types of grave, the *pozzo* and the *fossa*, with their two methods of disposing of the dead by cremation or by burial. Urns of oval and hut types concealed within a huge *dolium* or jar and surrounded with several small hand-made vases have been discovered; the ashes of the dead were laid to rest in the hut, while from another grave an oak coffin hollowed from the trunk of a tree protects the skeleton of a person who had been buried. Many little bronze ornaments, such as fragments of jewelry and simple brooches with beads of amber indicating trade with northern Europe, came from various tombs. Two or three significant facts need emphasis here, one being that apparently two races or at any rate two groups of people practicing different methods of disposal of the dead were buried in the same cemetery and that some of the *pozzi* and the *fossæ* were approximately contemporary as their contents show; another point, confirmed by the occurrence of Greek proto-Corinthian pottery which can be dated, is that some of these belong approximately to the eighth century B.C., which fits well with the traditional date of the founding of Rome by Romu-

lus; and that this was the cemetery of the people who dwelt on the adjacent hills can hardly be doubted. The *sepulcretum* has been filled in again, but the shapes of the graves can be clearly seen by the beds of flowers which have been planted above them so that they form little islands of green in the pavement. Presumably this spot in the Forum was less submerged than most of the area for there is no indication that water or unusual dampness has affected the objects buried there. No grave seems especially singled out for distinction, none makes any pretence to architectural merit, and none contains objects of remarkable artistic value. But the great monument which tradition connected with the Forum was the grave of Romulus at the western end of the area, a spot about which hovered many legends and to which later men from Sulla to Mussolini have paid tribute.

The grave of Romulus with its famous black stone or "*lapis niger*" dates back, in part at least, only to republican times, but below the *lapis* are various monuments of differing age, some of which may perhaps belong to the kings themselves. The *stele* in the form of a slightly sloping truncated pyramid on each side of which there is an inscription very archaic in letter forms and in dialect is believed by some scholars to be contemporary with the regal period while others place it later. Close

by is the stump of an ancient column of tufa. At one side are rectangular bases forming three sides of a hollow square, the moldings on which closely resemble those on Etruscan altars. On two of these bases there may have been statues of lions as was customary at the entrance to Etruscan tombs, but no remains of them have been found. A very significant point is the antiquity of the style of the tufa bases and the undying belief that they had something to do with Romulus himself. The gravel which is packed about them has evidently been carried there on purpose and small votive terracotta and metal objects of the usual eighth- and seventh-century style are said to have been found *in situ*. The place has never been thoroughly excavated, to say nothing of completely published, and therefore one can speak only rather generally about it, since the accounts are confused and a certain mysterious secrecy still lurks about the spot, but a trial pit twenty feet deep has shown that material of the sixth century lay only a meter below the surface, and a cursory examination made by prying up one of the bases has revealed material of that same date immediately below. When Sulla covered part of the sanctuary with the black stone which appears to have been imported from Greece, the débris that probably came from a very old *favissa* or ritual pit, such as existed in the temple of Vesta and other holy places, was kept in the area

in the most sacred spot between the bases. Whether this really was the grave of Romulus we have no means of proving, but that it was so regarded by the Romans throughout all the period for which we have evidence is indisputable. According to Livy, Romulus disappeared during a violent thunderstorm and was never again beheld of mortals, but this grave might have been a cenotaph as we know the custom of erecting them prevailed with both Greeks and Romans. No excavator thinks he has found the bones of Romulus as Schliemann believed he had discovered the veritable remains of Agamemnon in the shaft graves at Mycenæ.

It may be merely a coincidence that not far from the grave of Romulus who vanished from the sight of mortals amidst flashes of lightning was the very ancient area of Volcanus the god of such heavenly phenomena, in which stood a statue in memory of an actor who had been struck by a bolt. Other memorials in the precinct were the statue of Horatius Cocles and the bronze chariot which was said to have been dedicated by Romulus himself after his successful battle over the Cæninenses, a chariot probably not unlike the famous Etruscan quadriga in the Metropolitan Museum. There, too, tradition placed a very ancient inscription "in Greek letters" put up by Romulus himself and recounting his deeds, possibly an ancestral document to the *Res Gestæ Divi Augusti*, since an inscribed marble

slab found here tells us that this emperor made a dedicatory gift to Volcan in 9 B.C.

The ancient altar is cut out of the native rock, square in shape and fairly high, with a runnel in front to catch the drippings from the sacrifices and still bearing traces of the painted stucco which decorated it. Originally, it stood open to the sky, and the ancient squared blocks of tufa which surround it doubtless belong to a later modification of the precinct. The area was always regarded by the Romans as a monument of great antiquity and was treated with veneration.

But other memories of the regal period cling to the Forum, one of them the famous *Lacus Curtius* into which according to one story Marcus Curtius leapt in full armor mounted on his horse as an offering to save his people. The other version in which the Sabine Mettus Curtius fell into the swamp and nearly lost his life is represented on an archaic relief found close by and now in the Conservatori palace. Here the horse has stumbled, but his rider in full armor has not yet been thrown. The *Lacus Curtius* looks harmless enough now with its fence protecting it from any impetuous visitor whose ambition might lead him to emulate the exploits of Marcus Curtius, but once upon a time it was probably a considerable pool in the swampy valley.

Not far away was the fountain of *Juturna* the

nymph, sister of Turnus, to whose pool Castor and Pollux came to water their steeds. Later days made of this a charming spot with a deep quadrangular basin paved and lined with marble where in ancient times there perhaps grew as graceful and delicate ferns as those that now fringe the pool. Beside it an altar sculptured on all four sides shows the heavenly twins with their horses, Zeus and Leda their parents, and on the fourth side a nymph who may be Juturna herself. Castor and Pollux, those gallant heroes who had the pleasant habit of appearing in emergencies as helpers, stood on the side of the Romans in the battle of Lake Regillus and in later days the great temple in their honor was reared close by the place where they had first come to the spring of the water nymph.

As was eminently appropriate, Jupiter was the first god to whom a temple was consecrated in the area of the Forum. In the days of Romulus the struggle against the Sabines who had seized the Capitoline was raging with great vigor and the Romans had been driven back across the valley almost to the wall of their stronghold on the Palatine. On the spot where the Romans stopped and beat off the enemy Romulus erected the Temple of Jupiter Stator in fulfillment of the vow he had made. Almost nothing remains of this very ancient monument except a few massive foundations on the rising ground near the Arch of Titus which are

believed to mark the place where it stood, and the best suggestion of its appearance when reconstructed in Republican times is gained from the relief originally from the tomb of the Haterii but now built into the Porta Maggiore and giving a view of the monuments near the Arch of Titus. In general, we find the temples were situated on the hills rather than in the valley of the Forum, and although the official religion of the state early established itself there, the majority of the existing temples are of later foundation and by no means occupy sites which from time immemorial had been sacred to the gods.

As early, however, as the time of Numa the residence of the *Pontifex Maximus* had been established in the Forum in the strange triangular area of the Regia. There they kept official documents like the *fasti* and the lists of officials, and the ritual commentaries of Numa ordered by Ancus Marcius to be set up on a white tablet that the secrets of religion might not be a priestly monopoly, so that the Regia became a sort of bureau of information to which people might come for directions as to how and when various ceremonies should be performed. The Regia was not like an oracle giving advice and answering the religious perplexities of the troubled visitor; it was with ritual and ceremony, with exact and meticulous observances that it dealt, and it is typical of the order and system

so dear to the Roman mind or perhaps of the survival of old ideas of fear and taboo which caused them to be so extraordinarily careful that everything should be done in strict accord with the letter of the law. Of this old Regia of the kings there remains very little, but though the fragments seem insignificant they serve to show that religion has had a permanent abiding place in the Eternal City for a period of more than two thousand years. When the Regia was reconstructed in the Augustan Age, one of the first of the famous marble buildings to be erected, the old remnants were preserved and enclosed a sort of sacred area in which some relics seem to be as early as the time of the Etruscan kings, the ancient altars were treated with respect and consideration, and no ruthless removal of venerable objects took place.

Not far from the Regia was the precinct of Vesta in the pools of whose courtyard we now see charming reflections of red rose-bushes. But what the house of the Vestals can have been in early days is merely a guess. Certainly, it cannot have borne much resemblance to the later structure with its groups of rooms, its little offices or studies, and its hot-air system to protect it from the devastating dampness of its situation. Perhaps the first house of the Vestals was not unlike the house of the goddess which we call her temple. Even if Livy had not mentioned a temple of Vesta as one of the early

foundations—dating back to Numa—we should realize that the plan of the building preserves a traditional form of great antiquity, for the round temple is derived from the circular hut of the people of the early Iron Age. The fire which burned eternally is a reflection of the hearth of the household kept aglow in the days when the relighting of a fire was no simple task. The circular foundations of the Temple of Vesta are still to be seen, the superstructure has disappeared, but a marble relief pictures the building as it stood in imperial days. Even the graceful columns and elaborate tiled roof do not deceive us as to its derivation from one of the little clay huts—often decorated with columns at either side of the door and with beams radiating out from the peak of the roof—which were the last resting place for the ashes of those who had probably dwelt in a similar building during their lifetime. In Livy's story of the priesthoods organized by Numa, the worship of Vesta is followed by an account of the establishment of the Salii or leaping Priests of Mars. In March their festival procession went through the city singing and dancing and carrying the *ancilia* or shields. These shields were shaped like a figure eight and are survivals of the oldest Mediterranean type known to us, a shape used in prehistoric Minoan Crete, possibly for the worship of the Curetes or youths (*κοῦροι*) who may have been a col-

lege resembling the Salii, and a shape which is best known in historic times as the Boeotian shield depicted on the coins of Thebes. Another very old foundation attributed to Numa was that of the Argei, during whose May festival there were thrown into the Tiber straw images of men, perhaps as a commemoration of the days when human sacrifice actually had taken place. None of their two dozen or more chapels was in the Forum, but as this worship, like that of the Salii and of Vesta, bears evidence of great antiquity, it may be mentioned here.

The Forum was the scene of other things besides tombs and shrines. Fairly early in its history its convenient situation between the Palatine and the Capitoline marked it out for a center of political and commercial activity. Many dramatic incidents group themselves about the Senate house whose origin was attributed to Tullus Hostilius. Presumably the large gatherings of the people took place in the open air in various convenient spots like the Forum or Campus Martius, since we have no mention of a building for assemblies. The western end of the Forum was devoted to public activities, in after times the *curia* and the *rostra* attracted legislators and demagogues to that quarter where various considerations lead us to imagine the first meetings of the *Populus Romanus* or of the *Patres* took place. No actual vestiges of these

public buildings of the days of the kings have been unearthed, but the orientation of the later *curia* is different from that of the Comitium, at one side of which the Curia Hostilia had been situated, and it encroached to some extent upon the ancient site. Livy pictures the former as a building of some height and impressiveness, otherwise his description of Tarquinius Superbus hurling his father-in-law, Servius Tullius, down the steps of the building—all the way to the bottom—would have little point. Sixth-century buildings in Etruria and Latium certainly had some claim to architectural importance and there is no reason which militates against the idea that the Etruscan kings of Rome adorned and enlarged structures whose origin was of a remoter date. The Senate House of Tullus Hostilius had been consecrated as a place of meeting, and the usual dignity and decorum of the conscript fathers must have been severely shaken by scandalous performances like the treatment of Servius Tullius, that noble but unhappy king who, deserted by most of his attendants, was pursued and slain as he was attempting to escape to his home. Tarquin, whose reign began with violence and bloodshed, was a good example of the ruler who believes it is better to rule through fear rather than through love, and among his high-handed practices was that of conducting all sorts of public business without the consent of the people or sen-

ate. The multiplicity of such acts suggests that under normal conditions the Senate House must have been a busy place. The general bustle and movement of the Forum is well illustrated by the story of how throngs of people from all quarters of the city ran there when the story of Lucretia's treatment by Tarquinius Superbus had been spread abroad. It had become the focus of every kind of activity, the spot to which the whole town sped in search of news or in the desire to listen to the stirring speeches of reformers or orators, and there must have been some early platform on which speakers held forth long before the days of the *rostra* familiar to us.

Most of the public speeches recorded in Book I dwell upon the rewards of virtue and the consequences of vice, and a vivid warning to the evildoer was the prison situated conveniently near the Forum as a constant reminder of the fate of those who strayed from the straight and narrow path. Such, at any rate, is what Livy says of its purpose, and though it may be only an observation of his own, he may be stating the real intention of its builder Ancus Marcius. The subterranean portion of the prison, which is known as the Tullianum, harbored many famous criminals, of whom most notorious perhaps were Catiline and his companions. Tradition said that Saint Peter was incarcerated there and that the water from the

spring flowing from the floor of the prison served for the baptism of his jailer. Architecturally, it is extremely interesting, being circular in plan except for a portion which is cut off by a chord, and is built of courses of stone which gradually overlap towards the top so as to form a vault or tomb of the type known to the Greeks as *tholoi* and popularly called beehives. Appropriate as a last resting-place for the dead, it was a living death to those who had not passed into eternal sleep; it was dark, damp, and airless, so that many unfortunate persons ended their days in the prolonged torture of starvation and suffocation. This lower portion of which three courses of stone are still preserved was the state dungeon, while the upper part or *carcer* consisted of a series of rectangular rooms and served as a place of detention for those committed to trial. The spring of water in the floor of the lower vault is said to have supplied the Capitoline citadel, but this form of well-house is unprecedented in ancient architecture.

Another aspect of the Forum which must have developed at a relatively early period is its use as a market, or a street of shops.

In the reign of Tarquinius Priscus parts of the Forum which had hitherto been devoted to purposes of state or of religion were converted to private use by the erection of porticoes and shops. The early booths and stalls, which were doubtless

like those in a mediæval market or in many European cities to-day, were replaced by buildings of a more permanent character known as the *tabernæ veteres*, and thus the combination of colonnade and rows of shops which is still a favorite in Italy reaches back through a long ancestry.

To the ordinary visitor, Athens means the Acropolis and Rome means the Forum. The rock of Athena Parthenos has survived as the outstanding, dominating feature in Athens, while the busy *agora* or market-place about which clustered the public buildings and temples has all but disappeared. Part of it lies buried beneath the modern city, small spaces of it have here and there been unearthed, but scarcely a trace remains above ground of the buildings in which the Athenians worked out their first experiments in democratic government or where the wares which the commercial supremacy of the Athenian Empire gathered from all parts of the known world were exposed for sale.

But in Rome, the Forum, center of political and business activity, with few survivals of ancient religious monuments is the spot to which the traveler's feet take him, while on the hills of the gods the great temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus has vanished away so that it is only within recent years that even its foundations have been uncovered, and on the Palatine the Temple of Apollo—the patron saint of Augustus and closely associated with him

as the moving spirit of his public enterprises—has left barely enough for the imaginative restoration of the architect to build upon. The palaces of the Cæsars have obliterated or buried deep the relics of the earlier Palatine, although these are one by one coming to light and modern research is adding to our knowledge of them. In the lower parts of the city the increasing activities of the Romans had established themselves to an extent which necessitated a spreading beyond the earlier bounds of their old haunts.

The familiar story of Virginius snatching a knife from a butcher's stall in the Forum indicates that the older *tabernæ* were devoted to utilitarian as well as to ornamental purposes, and that in the stern and simpler days of Rome the Forum was not the fashionable shopping district which it became in the days of the late republic and early empire. At a time which antedates any definite utilization of the Forum for public purposes, the old pasture must have served as the first market to which drovers brought their flocks, but before long the Forum Boarium or cattle-market was situated in the lowland to the southwest near the bank of the Tiber at a point not far from where the river was crossed by the famous *Pons Sublicius*, built of wood without the use of iron by Ancus Marcius, and defended by Horatius Cocles. The bridge was doubtless intended by its builder as the first

stage in the road leading from Rome to his newly founded port of Ostia. Although nothing is left of this bridge, the later Pons *Æ*Emilius known as the Ponte Rotto, of which a picturesque arch is still standing, cannot have been far from the place where it crossed the river in the early times when Rome was still a little hill-fort like many of her neighbors and when the country people brought their flocks and garden produce to the marts which lay outside the limits of the earliest city of Romulus. Like the Forum Romanum, the Forum Boarium contained ancient shrines to the gods, among them the two well-known temples still to be seen there—the so-called Temple of Fortune and the round temple attributed to many deities from Vesta to Mater Matuta which are said to occupy the sites of cults going back to Servian days. In the former temple a wooden cult statue of Servius Tullius, which was held in great veneration by the Romans of historical times, indicates the continuity of association of this area with Servius from a remote date. The oldest monument in the Forum Boarium was the Ara Herculis Maxima said to have been dedicated by Romulus, and of which no remains have come to light. Inscriptions tell us that it was still standing in the fourth century A.D., and according to Tacitus it was one of the landmarks used in tracing out the line of the Pomœrium.

The neighboring arch of Janus Quadrifrons, an imperial structure under whose shelter the money-changers carried on a flourishing business, is, of course, not on the site of Numa's arch of Janus which was on the other side of the Forum Romanum at the foot of the Argiletum, but it preserves the tradition of open archways. Numa's structure, sometimes wrongly described as a temple, the doors of which were closed on those occasions when the Roman state was not at war, was a famous monument to the instability of man-made peace and was closed only once between his time and the time when Augustus had established the *Pax Romana* over the Empire.

From the Forum Boarium one moves in a south-easterly direction to the Vallis Murcia between the Palatine and the Aventine where in later days the Circus Maximus was situated. Practical considerations lead us to believe that before the great works of drainage already referred to, this valley was flooded by the waters of the Velabrum, and that the rendering of the valley habitable went hand in hand with its conversion to a circus in the days of the Tarquins. The more easterly end was on slightly higher ground, and here tradition places the rape of the Sabine women during the celebration of the *Consualia* in the days of Romulus.

Turning from the Forum Boarium in the other direction and following the river bank, with a view

of the island to the left, one reaches the Campus Martius, the low-lying flat district which in early times contained the largest bodies of water in the city, namely, the *Capræ Palus* or Goat's Marsh into which flowed the *Petronia amnis*, and the *Tarentum* farther to the northwest. This was a pool fed by warm springs in a region where there must have been considerable volcanic activity, for the district became known as the Fiery Field and popular tales associated it with the infernal regions.

According to one account, the games famous in republican days as *Ludi Tarenti* and in imperial times as *Ludi Sæculares* for which Horace wrote the *Carmen Sæculare*, were instituted by Tarquinius Superbus as propitiation to these infernal deities when a plague had broken out and were celebrated at a place in the Campus Martius that had belonged to him.

About thirty-five years ago, the basin of the spring, the altar of Dis and Proserpine, the residence of the magistrates in charge of the festival, and the inscription which tells us that Horace wrote the words for the celebration in 17 B.C. were discovered, and although they are of imperial date they bear witness to the belief of the Romans that the Secular Games were of very ancient foundation.

The *Capræ Palus* was the place from which

Romulus disappeared in a mist during a storm of thunder and lightning. This level area in which Servius Tullius held his muster of troops when he established his famous census has been so constantly built over that no memorials of the earliest days of Rome are left there. In historical times the Via Flaminia, the modern Corso, ran across in a northerly direction to the city walls, beyond which the present road continues to the crossing of the river at the Ponte Milvio, a spot where the early kings must often have faced the foes of Rome when they pressed on for an invasion of the city.

But material walls for Rome did not exist near the Porta Flaminia until the fourth century of our era. In the olden days the Campus Martius was only a field outside the boundaries even in the time of Servius Tullius, and it is with a study of the hills of Rome that we shall see what walls were built, although most of our low-lying districts lay within their protection.

CHAPTER IV

THE HILLS OF ROME

THE exact sequence of events in the growth of Rome and the parts of the city which may or may not have been included within its limits at successive periods of its expansion, have given rise to much discussion, but one outstanding result of the researches of the last quarter of a century has been the recognition of how tradition and archæological discovery coincide to a remarkable degree.

Much of the literary background on which we can depend for Greece is lacking in Italy. Whatever the date of Homer, there seems no reasonable doubt that the poems are composed of extremely old material and that there cannot have been a very long break between the days in which the epic was passed around by word of mouth and the days in which it was committed to writing, but no Roman literature of great antiquity has come down to us, the poets Ennius and Nævius, and the historian Fabius Pictor on whom Livy drew belong only to

the third century B.C., and the Augustan Age in which Livy and Vergil wrote is separated by a very long interval from the days traditionally associated with the coming of *Æneas* or the founding of Rome. And yet there is embedded in both these authors much ancient lore which is proving to have more than a grain of truth in it. The natural conservatism of the Romans preserved many rites and practices whose original significance had long passed into oblivion, old stories persisted, all sorts of out-of-the-way queer things still survived in a subterranean fashion or cropped out as parts of popular belief, but at last we are coming to realize that many of these had a sound historical pedigree. The great revelations in Italy began a little later than those in Greece, but the past twenty-five or thirty years have taught us far more of the early days of Rome than was actually known to Livy or Vergil, although their genius and insight hit upon the truths which only the spade has satisfactorily demonstrated to us.

One of the traditions was the persistent belief that the Palatine hill was the oldest part of Rome, and both Livy and Vergil recognize a Rome under Evander at a time antedating the foundation by Romulus. For some years historians have seen in the stories of the Tarquins an attempt to veil an Etruscan conquest of Rome with a certain amount of dignity and patriotism. The Tarquins, like the

Achæans, were chieftain princes who came as conquerors and settled down in the captive cities, although the Achæans seem to have married the princesses of the old native stock, while the first Tarquin was inspired to his enterprising deeds by that masterful and ambitious wife Tanaquil who, as Livy says, thought Rome particularly suited to her purpose of advancing her husband's career. She was a native of Etruria, married, like her mother-in-law before her, to a man of alien stock. Tarquin, known at home as Lucumo son of Damatus of Corinth, did not belong to the first generation of immigrants to Etruria, but he carved out for himself a brilliant career in his adopted city of Rome.

For many reasons which will be discussed in another chapter, the belief that these later kings ruled Rome during the time when the power of Etruria extended all around and beyond the city on the Tiber appears to rest on convincing arguments. More recently, however, the view has been expressed that Rome from the days of Romulus himself was an Etruscan city, a view based on the evidence of the excavations which show that both pre-Etruscan and Etruscan civilizations had existed there, and one which makes no attempt to relate these archæological discoveries to the accepted version of the regal period with its seven kings. This seems too extreme. The analogy with

Greek tradition with its tales of Priam, of Agamemnon, and of Minos predispose one to accept the authenticity of the kings, though, of course, not attributing too literally to each one the achievements with which Livy credits him; and although we have known for a good many years that there were pre-Etruscan as well as Etruscan remains in Rome, it is by no means sure that the division need lie at the time of Romulus himself. The connection between Romulus and Alba Longa is too close in tradition, and the remains of the early Iron Age in the Alban Hills and in Rome too similar, for us lightly to throw overboard the tradition of the coming of Romulus from that quarter. If we accept the theory of some recent scholars who desire to place the beginning of Etruscan Rome at about 650 B.C., it is true that we have rather a long period to be covered by three kings until the year 509, when according to tradition they were expelled, but such things have happened in other times and other countries; for example, the reigns of Louis XIV and XV which cover a hundred and thirty-one years.

Livy, who was no professed archæologist, does at least recognize the existence of Rome before Romulus when he describes the very ancient festival of the *Lupercalia* as having been introduced in imitation of an Arcadian worship of Pan by Evander who was supposed to have come from that land

of shepherds and simplicity. This old fertility ceremony, which the Romans traced back to the remotest days of their ancestors, preserved even into imperial times many traces of its primitive character, and the route taken by the procession as described by Varro and other writers has become the *locus classicus* for the delimitation of the boundary of the early city.

Livy's version of the story of the twins and the shepherd says nothing of the actual cave of the wolf which was one of the milestones in the route taken by the festival, and which tradition identifies to this day on the Palatine hill. His rationalistic account makes the wolf merely a dweller in the neighboring mountains who, being thirsty, had come to the river to drink and had found the twins. Livy's real hero is Faustulus, the shepherd, who carried the twins away to his home and had them brought up by his wife Laurentia, popularly known by the uncomplimentary nickname of Lupa, but no attempt to explain the story on the grounds of etymology or of literal-mindedness has ever prevailed with the Romans, ancient or modern, who put the wolf and the twins on their coins, set up the magnificent bronze known as the Capitoline wolf, and to this day keep a wolf, not indeed on her Palatine hill, but on the Capitol with the other symbol of Rome's greatness, the eagle.

But though Livy tells us nothing of a *Lupercal*

on the Palatine, we learn of it from Dionysius and it is now nearly buried under the rubbish heap near the ancient *Scalæ Caci*.

The accepted version placed the cave of the wolf in the shelter of the *Ficus Ruminalis* in a spot which Livy describes as a wilderness in the days when the basket containing the twins grounded there, and traces of the *Ficus Ruminalis* were still visible in the days of Ovid as the poet tells us. Although Livy puts the hut of Faustulus on the Palatine, he makes no specific mention of the *Casa Romuli*, but there was no need for him to do so since it was one of the best known monuments of imperial times. Originally a thatched building, like the hut-urns in shape, it was replaced when necessary by new structures of the same primitive form and material and the tradition has been revived in our own times by the erection of a little House of Romulus on the Palatine by Senator Boni. Another greatly venerated monument was the sacred cornel-cherry tree said to have sprung from the lance which Romulus hurled across the valley from the Aventine. If the story did not occur in Plutarch, we might think it an ingenious combination of the stories of George Washington's cherry tree and of the stone he threw across the Potomac, but the tree was fenced in and kept well watered until the days of Cæsar.

The Palatine hill, which was formed during

more than one geological period as we can tell from the dark gray lower tufa and the reddish-brown upper tufa which crop out in places, was marked out by nature for a fortress, as it is comparatively isolated and precipitous and not far from the river. These were the features sought by the founders of many of the little hill-forts in Latium, such, for example, as Antemnæ whose general appearance and plan are strikingly similar to the Palatine hill. It is no simple task for us to remove in our mind's eye the great structures built by the Cæsars and to reduce the old settlement to its earliest form. It was really composed of two parts, the Palatine and the Germalus, with a slight depression between them, and the primitive settlement may also have included the Velia in the direction of the Arch of Titus, although this can hardly have formed an integral part of the earliest *oppidum* for it would greatly have increased the difficulties of defense. The Romans of Hadrian's day ran true to form when they built the great wall in the north of England in such a way as to utilize the perpendicular crags as a natural defense whenever it was possible. The oldest wall around the Palatine was probably a wooden palisade, but the remains of an extremely early wall of stone which are visible at a few points show that the natural configuration of the rock was followed and the steep sides of the hill used to advantage. Since this

fortress with its ring-wall was rather small, most of the population doubtless lived in hut-villages in the open country and came to the fortified citadel only when in need of refuge or on other special occasions. Despite the existence of certain ancient worships on the Palatine, the religious center *par excellence* was always the Capitoline, devoted to the gods and, like the Pelargikon at Athens, not intended for ordinary human inhabitants.

But the Palatine citadel surrounded by its stone wall was not the earliest settlement that had existed on the site. Livy tells us that Romulus built a wall to fortify the Palatine hill where he had been brought up, and the tradition of a settlement antedating the childhood of Romulus corresponds well to the actual facts as we know them.

The oldest remains go back to the Villanovan period and consist of hut-foundations, some round, some elliptical, and some rectangular, cut in the solid tufa west of the *Scalæ Caci*, of fragments of pottery belonging to the tenth and ninth centuries, of hut-urns and vases with the crescent-shaped handle characteristic of the early Iron Age of Italy, and of a rock-cut grave of the *fossa* type. We can imagine no more charming description of life in this early settlement than that which we read in the eighth book of the *Æneid*, telling of the visit of Æneas to Rome and of the gracious hospitality extended to him by Evander.

History of early times, particularly of prehistoric days, is fond of telescoping together events which have really extended over a long period of time, and Vergil has met the difficulty by putting prophecies into the mouth of Evander who foretells to his visitor the future glories of Rome and describes monuments which had not yet come into existence. But had Vergil lived in the days of Senator Boni, he would have known that Rome actually existed long before the date associated with the coming of the twins. The anachronisms and the clumsy expedient of inventing long dynasties of Alban kings to bridge over the time between twelfth-century *Æneas* and eighth-century Romulus need trouble us not at all. However remote a beginning Vergil and Livy may have postulated for the city, they probably did not realize that the truth would lead them back into still more distant spaces of time. It was, however, not only on the site of Rome itself that little settlements were beginning to spring up, but many similar strongholds existed in the neighborhood, and it would have been a rash man who attempted to prophesy the dominating rôle eventually to be played by one of the group. In the district which was enclosed by the Servian wall there already were hamlets on the Esquiline and the Quirinal little if any later than that on the Palatine.

The graves of the earlier inhabitants of the Pala-

tine have already been mentioned as being situated near the *Scalæ Caci*, and since it was customary among the Italic people to bury the dead outside the walls, it is probable that the earliest fortress extended only as far down the slope as the top of the *Scalæ*. There is a literary echo of this in Varro who says that Rome ended at the brow of the *Scalæ Caci*, although he believes that it is Romulus's wall of which he is speaking.

A few fragments of this oldest stone wall, which may have followed the line of the earlier palisade, are visible above the *Scalæ Caci*; they are dark gray Palatine tufa which flakes naturally in a longitudinal direction and is never used in very large blocks. This same "*cappellaccio*" was employed for the southwest escarpment of the Palatine and has been found at enough points in the city to justify the conclusion that a pre-republican wall encircled what was known as the City of the Four Regions and that its identity became confused with the later so-called Servian wall which most scholars now believe to belong to the fourth century.

The course of the early city walls will be discussed later; for the present we may feel sure that the Palatine itself had a stone defense at an early date. Since the remains of this are so meager and the circuit of the wall cannot be definitely traced, one cannot speak with absolute certainty of the situation of the gates, but usually in the hill-forts

there were three gates leading respectively to the pasture, the river, and the necropolis—and the natural features of the ground indicate the most probable places where these would have been situated: the *Porta Mugonia* on the northeast side of the hill towards the Velia, the gate near the *Scalæ Caci* towards the *Vallis Murcia*, and the *Porta Romanula* to the northwest at the foot of the *Clivus Victoriae*.

Many meanings have been suggested for the name *Palatium* and a discussion would lead one into a philological morass according to whether we followed the advocates of a long or a short “a” in the first syllable. One derivation is from *Pales*, a shepherd deity, another connects it with *balare*—“to bleat,” and as early as the third century B.C. the poet Ennius said the name came from the bleating of the flocks browsing on its slopes; a recent interpretation makes it “paxlatium” or a stronghold.

A second phase of development often called Etruscan can be dated by the proto-Corinthian pottery found with the wares of native manufacture, which would place these remains in the seventh century. Two great cisterns of the seventh and sixth centuries, scanty foundations of a sixth-century temple which may be that known as the Temple of Victory attributed to Evander but really built by Etruscan rulers, and some Etruscan walls near the *Scalæ Caci* are the most important things

discovered. This settlement evidently suffered severely from fire late in the sixth or early in the fifth century, since a black stratum containing objects of that date lies under graves which can be dated in the fifth century. The fire may have been caused by Etruscan raiders, possibly Porsenna himself whose traditional attack on Rome early in the fifth century is familiar to everyone.

Architectural fragments bear witness to the occupation of the hill during the fourth and subsequent centuries as well as the sixth, but as far as we can judge from material evidence, Rome in the fourth century was an insignificant place in comparison to what she had been in the sixth under her kingly rulers.

The resemblances between the earliest settlement on the Palatine and the other hill-forts of the vicinity seem to point to the Italic character of this primitive citadel, while the nature of the remains of the second period indicates that the traditions which speak of Rome as an Etruscan city rest upon a sound basis.

But other elements besides Latin and Etruscan entered into the composition of the Roman people, and the remains on the Quirinal, the Sabine stronghold, indicate that this hill also was occupied at an early date and that the fusion of settlements attested by the literary evidence, the joint rule of Romulus, the Roman, and Titus Tatius, the Sabine,

and of Numa and Ancus, the kings of Sabine stock, are all in accord with the actual discoveries made.

The name *Quirites*, whether we derive it from the Sabine town Cures or from *curis* (the Sabine word for a lance) is pre-Etruscan, and some scholars believe that *Romani* is the Etruscan name for the people whose old name *Quirites* survived chiefly in religious and other formulaic usage.

On the Quirinal hill there have been found remains of pottery dating back as early as the Villanovan period, *fossa* graves containing log coffins like the one from the Forum necropolis, deposits of votive offerings belonging to the seventh century, and a sixth-century *camera* tomb which can safely be called Etruscan. This shows that the Quirinal like the Palatine had two strata of civilization. The simplicity of the earlier finds and the lack of imported ware, Etruscan or Greek, are excellent reasons for assigning the early settlement to a fairly remote century, and on both hills the Etruscan element appears to be a foreign intrusion. There is consequently no difficulty in believing the story of a double city in pre-Etruscan times.

Various ancient cults established on the Quirinal are mentioned by writers like Varro, who attribute them to the kings, but although the sites of these were known in Augustan and later imperial times, the best witnesses to the antiquity of the occupation of the hill are the actual remains men-

tioned above. Varro, being a Sabine himself, was inclined to attribute all good things to the stern, strong, thrifty people who in Horace's day still represented the austere Puritan element and whose association with Rome is put by Vergil far earlier than the days of Romulus, for he makes the wife of Evander a Sabine. Pallas, their son, being half-Italian, was consequently not eligible to lead the hosts against the Etruscans and Rutulians, and since Evander himself was too old the task fell upon the foreigner *Æneas*. As far as we can tell, the Sabines and Latins were kindred branches of the Italic people, although the Sabine element was more conservative and simple. The theory that the patricians were descendants of the Sabines and the plebeians of the Latins is easier to prove on the basis of religion and perhaps of philology than of archæology, for the few discoveries we can surely identify with the Sabines are poor and simple. We are hardly yet in a position to speak with confidence of any remains as distinctly Sabine, since their country has been too little excavated for us to recognize characteristically Sabine wares when we see them.

The Quirinal, like most of the rest of Rome, has suffered from being built upon for centuries as well as from having been tunneled through and having been separated by great cuttings, ancient and modern, from its neighboring spurs. In the

original contour of the city the Quirinal appears as a long slender peninsula projecting in a southwest direction into the neighboring waters or swampy ground. When the waters subsided, its easterly neighbor the Viminal (joined to it by a rise in the ground to the northeast) and its western extension which we know as the Capitoline hill emerged. Although the latter may always have been the actual terminus of the peninsula, tradition indicates that the Capitoline was not originally part of the Quirinal city and the archæological discoveries have confirmed this view.

The earlier *Arx*, known as the *Capitolium Vetus*, was on the eastern side of the hill near the site of the present Quirinal Palace on the rather precipitous rock forming the edge of the settlement, around which there ran a circuit-wall following the natural configuration. The Quirinal was separated from the Capitoline by this wall outside which one necropolis lay towards the southwest, while at the other extremity of the tongue of land an *agger* divided the city of the living from the city of the dead which extended to the northeast. It is from these graves outside or sometimes just beyond the very line of the walls that most of the discoveries have come, in the form of pottery and minor objects, but of early buildings no traces have been found. Doubtless, the settlement consisted largely of fragile huts with open precincts or possibly tem-

ples for the deities. Deposits have been found at two or three places on the Quirinal hill which are unlike the material from the graves of the Esquiline and which have therefore been regarded as votive rather than sepulchral. The *stips*, or mass of votive objects, which gradually accumulated as new additions relegated the old offerings to the rubbish heaps, is generally a fruitful source of information, and in one of these was discovered a vase bearing the famous Duenos inscription which makes it probable that the objects were once dedicated in a temple, or at least a shrine.

Inscriptions of republican and imperial date testify to the cults of the Capitoline Triad, of Semo Sancus or Dius Fidius, the ancient Sabine deity whose first temple was ascribed to Titus Tatius or to Tarquinius Superbus, and of Quirinus himself in whose honor Numa established the earliest worship. There is no need to multiply examples, for the antiquity of the hill is the important fact that emerges, and Livy's statement that Servius Tullius added the Quirinal and Viminal must mean that he included the old settlements within his walls.

Convenient to both Palatine and Quirinal were the Oppian, Cespian, and Viminal hills, the latter really a part of the Quirinal, said to have been absorbed by the "enlargement" of the Esquiline under Servius Tullius. These wooded districts, including the Fagutal or beech grove and the

Viminal or hill of the osiers, continued to carry on the old tradition of green spaces to the days when they were laid out as parks or gardens, the most famous of the latter being those of Sallust and of Mæcenas, the construction of which was responsible for a clearing up of disreputable and unsanitary districts which had been in many ways a menace to the city. The resort of cutthroats and robbers and a sort of potter's field for the riff-raff of Rome was converted into beautiful gardens with broad promenades, and although the reforms of Mæcenas doubtless destroyed what to us of the present day would be priceless evidence of ancient burials, nevertheless through all the Esquiline district countless tombs have been discovered and a careful study of them has thrown much light on the question of the growth of the city. There is a certain family resemblance between the early villages on the Quirinal and on the Oppius. Both lie on spurs extending out from the plateau of the Esquiline, both were surrounded by walls, and both were separated by the so-called Servian *agger* from the Cespian and Esquiline necropolis. The *Arx* of the Oppius was on the northwest side of the hill, but since there are no actual remains left we must proceed to the Esquiline with its great cemetery stretching across from beyond the Prætorian Camp in a westerly direction.

Here, over a wide area, hundreds of tombs, both

pozzo and *fossa*, have been found showing that the burials began as early as the Villanovan period.

Livy tells us that Servius Tullius enlarged the Esquiline and took up his own residence there to make it respectable, and that he surrounded the city with a rampart, a moat, and a wall.

Now the interesting fact is that according to literary evidence this boundary of the city of the Four Regions runs right through the center of the Esquiline necropolis, and since it was not permitted to bury the dead inside the city, the relative dates of the graves within and without the boundary will indicate the time at which the boundary was made. The real Villanovan urns, the cups with double handles or with crescent-shaped handles, and the early vases that belong only with hut-urns are found almost exclusively inside the boundary line, while the *camera* tombs in the Etruscan style with their characteristic contents, including Etruscan tripods of bronze and imported Greek vases, lie outside of the boundary. Enough is known about the dates of these objects to make possible the conclusion that the boundary was established before the end of the seventh century.

It is generally agreed that the wall known as Servian belongs more probably to the fourth century, but there are several remains of an earlier wall at places along its periphery, and this presumably was the earliest circuit defense of the *Urbs*.

Roma before the time of the great *murus* with its *agger*.

The Cælian hill first comes into Livy's narrative in connection with the reign of Tullus Hostilius whose destruction of Alba Longa and transplanting of its population to Rome doubled the number of citizens and made it necessary to provide adequate quarters for them. Livy naively tells us that Tullus built his own palace on that mount in order to attract other settlers, and by the time of Ancus Marcius it had become the regular Alban district. Earlier, however, than the first actual mention of the Cælian, the area had figured as the scene of the meeting between Numa and Egeria in the grove sacred to the Camenæ which lay in the valley at its foot. The wood with its grotto and spring were dedicated to the goddesses with whom Egeria had held converse and whose wisdom she passed on to the venerable king. The spring was on the slope of the Cælian, although later tradition has placed the fountain of Egeria some distance without the walls and has given her name to the charming group of oak trees on a knoll not far from the Appian Way and called the "Bosco Sacro."

The *Porta Capena* which marked the beginning of the Via Appia was situated on the slope of the Cælian, and it was outside this gate that, according to Livy, the surviving Horatius, returning trium-

phant from his victory over the Curiatii, met his sister who was betrothed to one of them and dealt out more than Spartan treatment as punishment for her lamentations.

Another early association with the Cælian, but one which Livy passes by in silence, is the story of its settlement by Cæles Vibenna and his Etruscan companions who arrived, according to one version in the days of Romulus, according to another in the time of the Tarquins, and gave his name to the hill, which in early days had been called Querquetulanus from the oak trees that clothed its slopes, just as the name of Fagutal was bestowed on one portion of the Esquiline because of the beech wood that grew there.

Although the Aventine was not included in the city until towards the end of the regal period, the conspicuous hill, highest in Rome, was associated with several traditions before its incorporation. Livy mentions it as the site of the burial place of a certain Aventinus, one of the kings of Alba Longa who was killed by a thunderbolt and gave his name to the hill. Vergil, who describes him among the host of Latini that fought against Æneas, calls him the son of Hercules, bearing on his shield the device of the hydra as he parades over the green-sward in his chariot. The Greek practice of inventing eponymous heroes for almost any city or district has here been followed by the Romans, and

may perhaps be due to a desire to find a respectable ancestral connection for the hill selected by Remus for taking his observations, since the next mention of it is in connection with that hero's unsuccessful attempt to secure favorable omens for the new city he wished to found. The Romans believed that the Palatine formed the original nucleus of their city, and the strange medley of folk-lore and popular belief that led to a tale of heavenly twins in connection with the beginning of the city might have caused serious embarrassments in later times when rivalry between the brothers would have retarded the union of the state, or the awkwardness arising from having two founders of equal importance—as difficult as the partnership of pope and emperor in the Holy Roman Empire—may be the explanation for the elimination of Remus at the very inauguration of the city. Tradition wasted little sympathy on him, but no mention is made of any activity on the Aventine in the days of Romulus.

When Numa came to the throne he dedicated an altar on the Aventine to Jupiter, called *Elicius*, since he hoped to elicit from him the knowledge of how to expiate prodigies and strange natural phenomena, and he may, like Moses and other prophets, have gone to a mountain top for enlightenment. The sacrifices were of a secret and solemn nature, and Tullus Hostilius, when turning over the commentaries of Numa for advice about pro-

pitiating the gods during a pestilence, had found mention of this sacrifice, but, unfortunately, so muddled the form of revival that Jupiter, exasperated at the impropriety, struck him with lightning and burnt him and his house to ashes.

The Aventine next became a Latin quarter in the literal sense of the word, for after his conquest of the people of Politorium, Ancus Marcius transplanted all its citizens to Rome, and since the old Romans were on the Palatine, the Sabines on the Capitoline, and the Albans on the Cælian, he established his new immigrants upon the Aventine, adding later a settlement of conquered from Medullia whom he placed near the Temple of Murcia in order, as Livy says, that the Aventine might be joined to the Palatium.

It was not until the time of Servius Tullius that the Aventine was actually included within the city, and the Temple of Diana erected with the aid of the neighboring Latin states. The later fame of the great Ephesian temple of Artemis, identified with Diana by the Romans, has apparently substituted a false explanation of the introduction of the ancient Italic goddess Diana who might truly be called the patron deity of a large number of Latin peoples. Her worship as *Diana Nemorensis* in a grove near Aricia, and her association with the cult at Lake Nemi are too well known through modern research for us to be misled as to the nature and

meaning of what must have been a distinctively Latin worship introduced into Rome.

The Aventine seems always to have been a somewhat remote and isolated part of the city, and although traces of the so-called Servian wall can be seen on it, its inclusion within the *pomærium* did not take place until the time of the empire.

The Capitoline hill which became the religious center of Rome figures in the earliest traditions of the Kings. On it was the asylum open to immigrants from neighboring villages, who, like Dido's Trojans or Tyrians, were welcomed without distinction, and who soon augmented the state with a new accession of strength. This sanctuary lay in the district between the *Capitolium* and the *Arx* near the "two groves" which were so familiar to the readers of Livy's time that a further description was unnecessary, since the oaks of the *Capitolium* were famous. The search for wives for the new members of the state led to the episode generally called the Rape of the Sabines, but one which involved also the women of the neighboring Latin towns. Among these the people of Cænina, chafing at the dilatoriness of the others, attempted to avenge themselves on the Romans, but were defeated by Romulus who carried the spoils of their slain general to the capitol and marked out the bounds for a temple of Jupiter Feretrius, said to have been the first consecrated in Rome, in

which he dedicated the offerings known as *spolia opima*, an achievement equaled only twice again in the history of Rome. Although this temple was enlarged by Ancus Marcius to commemorate his victories, its site is uncertain and no remains of it can be identified.

The story of Tarpeia was associated with the Capitoline hill, but the physical features of the place have been so greatly modified in later days that there is a difference of opinion as to which side was really the scene of her adventures. Livy embellishes his narrative by depicting the Sabines with heavy golden bracelets and large rings set with precious stones, a form of adornment more appropriate to the Gauls of several centuries later. These traditions connecting the Sabines with the Capitolium (a stronghold which they held until their defeat in the Forum by Romulus) may easily be reconciled with what we have seen about Sabine settlements on the adjacent Quirinal.

It was to the Capitolium that Numa went to consult the omens when he had been asked to become ruler of the city, and the sanction of the gods rested upon his peaceful reign devoted to law and religion rather than to warfare. The *auguraculum* or place for taking omens, with its *cardo* and *decumanus* intersecting at right angles on the points of the compass, was on the summit of the Arx, but these practices characteristic of Etruscan religion

are by anticipation introduced into the story. We can imagine the Capitoline with a few precincts and shrines upon its wooded and grassy summit long after Numa's day; a great change was, however, wrought by Lucius Tarquinius Superbus who did away with the earlier sanctuaries in order to gratify his ambition as builder of the imposing Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus by which he expected to be remembered forever after. This temple had already been vowed by Tarquinius Priscus in the Sabine war, but he seems to have done little beyond the leveling of the site for it. A far more comprehensive program was inaugurated by his son or grandson (authorities differ about the relationship), who made a clean sweep of all the early temples and altars except that of Terminus, the god of boundaries, who refused to leave and whose presence was said to have pointed to the continuance and stability of Rome. Like many a later builder, Tarquin used all his available funds (obtained from the spoils of Pometia) for laying the foundations and had to employ public money and forced labor to carry on his project.

This was only one of the great public enterprises on which all sorts of workmen were employed, many having been brought for the purpose from Etruria where temples of similar style and construction served as models for this ambitious structure which was built largely of wood on a stone

foundation and embellished with decorations of terra-cotta. These temples will be described fully in another chapter and here it need only be said that the recent confiscation of the Palazzo Caffarelli, formerly the German Embassy, has made it possible to excavate some foundations underneath the palace which have been identified as those of the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus. Although it was rebuilt several times, the blocks of *cappellaccio* are believed by many scholars to belong to the sixth-century structure itself, and there is no good reason to doubt this view, since the material was generally used at that time and the remains of archaic temples in Etruria and Latium belong to as early a date as this. Detailed descriptions by Vitruvius and Dionysius enable us to be sure of the appearance and dimensions of the original building which were carefully maintained in the later structures. 33626

The Capitoline of republican and imperial days which became a veritable forest of temples, altars, and statues differed very much from the simple hill of early times with its groves, its grassy hollow, and its steep cliffs, presumably supplemented where needed by a simple earthwork or palisade for defense, since it was not until the time of the Servian wall that it was included within the limits of the enlarged city.

This encircling of a great city is traditionally

associated with the movement of expansion and magnificence under the Etruscan kings, but before their day Rome had reached out across the Tiber and had even established herself on the seacoast at Ostia.

Ancus Marcius is credited with having added the Janiculum to the city, not because of want of room, but that it might not fall into the hands of the enemy Etruscans. There are no traces of the walls he is said to have built around it (a most formidable operation it would have been), and no evidences of its occupation at an early date. The wooden bridge remained as a revered monument for centuries, but the *Fossa Quiritium* has never been discovered. It seems more probable that the hill served as a lookout or possibly held the camp of a garrison than that it was actually incorporated, for we read often of its seizure by the Etruscans, and its accessibility to strangers is attested by the story that Lucumo on his way to Rome had reached the Janiculum when an eagle flew down, removed his cap, and replaced it again on his head, a favorable omen received with great rejoicing by Tanaquil and himself.

To sum up: the earliest walls in Rome were those which surrounded separate settlements on the Palatine and Quirinal hills. Each of these appears to have originated as an independent community with its *oppidum* and its cemetery which

lay outside the boundaries. Literary and archæological evidence agree in showing that a union of the settlements took place before the coming of the Etruscans. The hills adjacent to the Palatine and Quirinal—that is to say, the Cælian, Oppian, Cesian, and Viminal—were absorbed to form the city that went under the name of the Four Regions. Further expansion extended the city beyond this in northerly and easterly directions to include the Esquiline, a project attributed by Livy to Servius Tullius, while the Aventine, the Capitoline, and the low-lying ground (later the Forum Romanum) between it and the Palatine were all incorporated within the circuit wall. The route taken by the procession that went around to the chapels of the Argei, a route from which the boundary of the City of the Four Regions has been determined, cut through the cemeteries of the Esquiline and the remains found within or without this line point to the seventh century as the time of the circumvallation.

A careful study of the strata of Rome has shown that the gray tufa or *cappellaccio*, which has been mentioned in connection with some of the early walls on the Palatine and the substructures of the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, was in use during the period of the kings and that the earliest city wall was made of this material. Owing to the fact that for long stretches it coincided with

the later wall which went by the name of Servian, comparatively few remains have been preserved to the present time. The accounts of excavations, however, make mention of more than one early wall and show that blocks of this gray tufa were often built upon by the yellowish tufa of the Servian circuit. The earlier wall is generally believed to have avoided the Aventine and to have gone from the southwest corner of the Cælian across in a northwesterly direction to the Palatine of which it formed the southwest boundary and then turned at a sharp angle across the Forum Boarium to the river. An arch of the same material, formerly in this forum but now destroyed, was perhaps the gate through which the old *Via Ostiensis* passed.

Both historical probability and the actual remains now collected in great quantities in the local museums point to the prosperity of Rome and her neighbors in the sixth century and make it difficult to believe that the larger Rome can have remained an unfortified city until the time of the walls known as Servian. The familiar and massive stretches built of well-squared blocks of yellowish tufa which recur at so many points in the city of Rome need hardly any further description. The combination of stone wall, *agger*, and ditch has left ample indications of the boundary's course, following the natural configuration of the hills

whenever possible and strengthening weak or exposed places with a more elaborate system of defense.

Within this circuit the old walls of the Oppian and the Quirinal might be allowed to fall into decay, but in the midst there still stood the little hill-fort of the Palatine rising like an island from its surroundings, and even if its walls were later buried beneath republican and imperial structures, a few precious fragments still remain as a record of the earliest settlers.

CHAPTER V.

ROME'S CONQUEST OF THE CAMPAGNA

THE pilgrim who, like Juno in the twelfth book of the *Æneid*, ascends Monte Cavo will see the whole coast from the Tiber to Antium stretched out before him in a wide extent—the battlefield for the last struggle of Trojans and Rutulians—and will see many cities whose existence was undreamt of in that early time. A magnificent outlook for the whole panorama of the Campagna, it is no wonder that it was the home of the great deity of the Latins. Probably only an altar in a grove marked the earliest worship of the god of the sky, and then a later temple like that of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitoline, replaced in turn by magnificent structures of the republic and empire. Piranesi says the foundations still extant in his time measured 240 by 120 feet, but that at the close of the eighteenth century it was destroyed or largely built over by the convent erected by Cardinal York. These foundations were of massive blocks of *peperino* of which a few may still be seen on the summit either laid up in courses or scattered around the plateau.

Investigations of about fifty years ago revealed traces of the later temple, the great altar, and a well-shaft connected by means of a *cuniculus*, or subterranean passage with a cistern. The collection of water from the showers and clouds on the mountain top was apparently for purposes of irrigation, and the great tunnels constructed as outlets for Lakes Albano and Nemi show how this surplus water was turned to advantage for use on the dry fields round about. Among the objects from the *stips votiva* were bits of archaic pottery, *aes rude*, and fragments of inscriptions showing the long-continued use of the sacred spot which was thronged with worshipers who toiled up the ancient road, part of which forms the upper portion of the modern path to the summit. This road, popularly known as the *Via Triumphalis*, though not so called in ancient times despite the fact that triumphs were sometimes celebrated here, is nearly nine feet wide and is laid with a well-preserved pavement of blocks of lava. Once again, the height is crowned by a grove of trees, to which the path leads upward through shady woods, while the great beeches on the top, with only a few massive blocks of stone to testify to man's handiwork, leave us in the open spaces where the earliest worshipers must have gathered under the sky around a simple altar of earth or stones.

One wonders what was in the minds of some of

the old Romans as they viewed the prospect from the summit and whether it occurred to them that this extensive Campagna might one day be incorporated into their state. From the peak sacred to their protecting god who sent the rain and the clouds to their fields they might see the golden grain or the ripening vineyards and might see, too, the vacant spaces that seemed fairly crying for attention and development. A goodly heritage one would call this expanse, and how the Romans came into their heritage bit by bit through conquest or alliance, in an ever-widening circle until the whole plain fell beneath their sway will be the subject of this chapter.

The new city of Romulus, despite or perhaps because of its military strength, was scorned as a parvenu by the neighboring towns, the asylum was regarded as a scandal, and such insults were heaped upon the new community that trouble was sure to follow, but curiosity prevailed with the neighbors who all flocked to Romulus's festival of the *Consualia* in order to gaze about the city, its fortifications, its fine houses, and other evidences of rapidly developing prosperity. Caught off their guard, they were brought to their senses by the kidnaping of their fairest virgins, and besides the Sabines there were the Cæninenses, Crustumini, and Antemnates.

Antemnæ, the nearest neighbor to Rome, was a

hill-fort on the left bank of the Tiber about four miles to the north near the Ponte Salario, on the left bank of the Tiber in a very fine situation where the junction of the Anio with the Tiber afforded an unusually good defense on two sides of the settlement. Varro explains the name as "*ante amnem*" meaning the Anio river, which winds its tortuous way through the plain that spreads out before the eyes of the visitor to this impressive site rising sixty-two meters in height. On general principles one would have selected it as a suitable location for a stronghold, for it is isolated on all sides except towards Rome where a neck of land connects it with a gentler slope. Its use for present military purposes, which led to the discovery of the old site by the modern engineers who were building a fort on the summit, has made it impossible to excavate the place thoroughly, but despite the guards the visitor may roam about on the hill-side unmolested, and when seated among the flowers that grow all over the slopes, may gain a vivid impression of the general lie of the land with the little hills predestined for the sites of towns, the twisting rivers, and the rich prizes of territory over which so many struggles were to take place. Either as a rival for military power or as mistress of the fields which could hardly be expected to support the population of two growing communities, Antemnæ was too close to make life safe in

the city of Romulus, and the Antemnates were promptly defeated while raiding the Roman territory, their town was captured, and after a reconciliation a Roman colony was sent there. The same fate was dealt out to the residents of Crustumium who are said to have yielded with little resistance. No remains are left to identify the city although we know that it was not far from the river Allia, probably a few miles farther up the Tiber valley than Antemnæ, toward the Sabine territory in a fertile district, which made it the preferred choice of colonists, and in the days of Varro the *Ager Crustumius* was famous for its irrigated fields and pear orchards. Of Cænina, the third town mentioned in connection with the rape of the Sabines and the first to be captured by Rome, little can be said except that it must have been a near neighbor and doubtless lay out in this district reached by the Via Salaria, but of "*turrigeræ Antemnæ*" the remains are sufficient to suggest the appearance it must have presented.

Senator Lanciani has pointed out certain resemblances between the old Palatine and Antemnæ, the latter of which retains more of the archaic features since it was destroyed soon after the founding of Rome. Both are irregularly quadrilateral in shape and isolated within their fortifications, but nevertheless give easy access to river and pasture lands.

The circuit wall, of which about fifteen meters in all have been uncovered, follows the natural curve of the hill and is made of irregularly squared blocks of *cappellaccio*, about three by two feet in dimensions, laid up without mortar, and probably pierced by the usual three gates to the river, the road and the cemetery and pasture. Within the settlement there have been discovered hut-foundations, and local pottery and a few bronze *fibulæ* and weapons similar to the finds in the early strata of the Esquiline cemetery, with some Etruscan *bucchero* and Græco-Chalcidian wares, while a few sporadic objects of the Stone Age may point to an occupation of the hill in far remote days. The impossibility of conducting systematic excavations has resulted in only incidental discoveries and no search has been made to find the cemetery which probably lay towards the south.

Excellent provision had been made for securing a good supply of water. In addition to the natural springs which lay at the foot of the hill on the north side, there were wells and a cistern inside the circuit-wall. One of the wells which was more than fifty feet deep had footholds at intervals along its masonry sides, but the cistern has now been destroyed and we have to depend for our knowledge of it chiefly on Senator Lanciani's description. A *cuniculus* with stone walls and cover slabs is a cloaca to the river.

Although they had disposed of the smaller troublesome towns the Romans had by no means heard the last of the rape of their neighbors' daughters, for the Sabines flocked from all quarters to their king Titus Tatius urging him to take active measures in consequence of which there ensued the struggle ending in the union of the two peoples.

Since Cures is the only town specifically mentioned in this connection, probably a large proportion of the Sabines were mountaineers living in small villages on the hillsides, and the Sabine-Latin struggle may be regarded as largely one of hillmen versus plainsmen. Cures has been identified some twenty miles or more north of Rome at Corese where there is a hill with two summits, the citadel to the east and the necropolis to the west, with the city between them, and the Fossa Corese running around the base. Despite her early fame, no remains have been discovered of the primitive town from which the Sabine name was said to have been derived and where the virtuous Numa dwelt before his invitation to rule over the Romans. Since the Sabines were too far from Rome to be incorporated, a series of intermittent wars took place during the regal period. Characterized as the most powerful nation, next to the Etruscans, in men and in arms, and reinforced by volunteers from Veii, they gave the Romans a desperate bat-

tle at the wood of Malitiosa on the edge of the Sabine territory.

But though the Romans succeeded from time to time in defeating their Sabine enemies, they were unable to profit by their victories as the Sabines could take refuge in their distant hills, and as the intervening territory was not yet in the Romans' hands. A few miles up the Tiber was Fidenæ, concerning which we have a good deal of information from Livy. He tells us that the Fidenates, thinking a power too near themselves was growing to a height, resolved to make war before it became any stronger, but as the result of a desperate battle from which they fled in panic, their town was captured by the Romans. In the following chapter, the Fidenates are called Etruscans, and because of their close relationship to the Veientes the latter were involved in a war that turned out disastrously for them and ended in a truce for one hundred years. Later, the Fidenates are referred to as a Roman colony that revolted from Rome and, once more aided by the Veientes, were routed by the Romans single-handed after the defection of their Alban allies. It is said that the Fidenates' knowledge of Latin enabled them to understand the Roman general's orders to his troops and that they were accordingly deceived by false information.

From these statements, as well as other literary evidence, we may conclude that whether Fidenæ

was Etruscan or Latin she flourished before the ascendency of Rome, that some ties bound her closely to the Etruscans across the Tiber, especially the people of Veii, and that she eventually became a subject colony of Rome, using the Latin language.

Although the position of Fidenæ cannot be positively determined, the city can scarcely have been as deserted as the statements of Cicero, Strabo, Horace, and Juvenal would lead us to believe, since two hills by the Tiber, Castel Giubileo and Villa Spada, correspond fairly well to the situation of Fidenæ which was five or six miles from Rome near the Tiber on the Via Salaria. The balance of probability seems to lie in favor of the latter site which was occupied by a villa of imperial times and which was isolated by fairly deep valleys on most sides like the typical Latin settlements, but as neither place has been excavated the casual discoveries cannot settle the question. But we have other evidence besides material remains to testify to the importance of Fidenæ and to explain the somewhat equivocal position she occupied.

The strategic position on the Tiber opposite the mouth of the small river Cremera which led from Veii to the Tiber, the connection with Veii which presumably made use of this river crossing, and the large number of Etruscan and imported articles at Praeneste in the days before such things had

come to Rome have given rise to the belief that Fidenæ lay on an important trade-route, the great highway that led from the Etruscan possessions in Tuscany to those in Campania by way of the valley of the Sacco after passing the fortress of Præneste which dominated the pass where now the railway runs. Landmarks along this route are Veii, Fidenæ, Gabii, and Præneste, a line passing to the east of Rome which, as the excavations show, had not yet become a market for imported wares. The mention of Fidenæ as an Etruscan town may mean only that some Etruscans were ruling it, for we know that frequently a small number of them gained the ascendancy—often temporary—over the Latin towns. The decline of Fidenæ may have been due to actual conquest by the Romans or to a falling off in trade, the latter of which is indicated by the new routes opened in Latium by the growing power of Rome as she extended towards the sea and established a port at Ostia. To Ancus Marcius was given the credit for utilizing this district for something more than a salt-marsh, and the consecutive steps in expansion seem to have been the draining of the low-lying Forum Romanum and the Forum Boarium, the utilization of the Tiber as a waterway, or the bridging of it by the Pons Sublicius whence an overland route, the Via Ostiensis, reached the coast. The recently discovered oldest remains at Ostia which probably

belong to the sixth century lend credence to the tradition of the king's ambitious enterprise which included the capture of the Mæsian forest on the right bank of the river from the Veientes.

The securing of the seacoast and the intervening country by no means afforded safety for Rome. Once more trouble arose in the inland country and Collatia was taken from the Sabines in one of the many struggles. The citadel of Collatia was on a plateau on the Anio ten miles northeast of Rome near the Fossa del Osa, but nothing remains of the walls, buildings, or pottery to throw any light on the character of the city. The Via Collatina which led to it from Rome is judged by Mr. Ashby to be one of the oldest roads in the Campagna, while the road from Collatia to Gabii seems to have served as one of the stages in the route between Fidenæ and the latter town.

Even Mr. Ashby's careful studies of the Campagna have not succeeded in identifying the situations of all the Latin towns which Livy says were conquered by Tarquin the First. That they lay in the direction of Tibur, north of the Anio valley, west of the Tiber and east of the Sabine mountains, is probable as there are several suitable sites in that vicinity and the Via Nomentana is said by Livy to have been formerly the Via Ficulensis, leading to one of these small towns.

Tarquin the Second attempted by diplomacy

and alliances to win over the Latin towns, particularly those in the vicinity of the Alban Hills, and we have already mentioned ¹ the results of his high-handed treatment of the Latins and his murder of the innocent Turnus Herdonius of Aricia who had merely advised his neighbors to ignore both Tarquin and the meeting he had appointed but had scorned to attend until his own good pleasure.

The absorption of the Latins into the Roman state brings the circle around again to our starting point on the Alban mount. One town, Gabii, had held out against Tarquin and could not be taken by siege, whereupon it was captured by fraud and stratagem, arts which Livy says were by no means Roman.

Gabii occupied an important position on the route from Veii to Præneste and although it was called a desolate wayside village in the Augustan Age, it can hardly have been literally so, since to this day portions of the wall of a republican temple are standing to a height of twenty-eight feet. These are built of blocks of golden-brown Gabine stone (known as *sperone*) and make a landmark in this part of the country.

The earliest city was not exactly on the site of the later one, but is reached by an ancient road which comes from the Via Prænestina and runs along the south side of the former lake to the tower

¹ See p. 33.

of Castiglione on the site of what was probably the old *arx* finely situated above the shallow basin which has been drained in modern times. This road running almost due north and south for 450 meters is a causeway with a track two meters wide and one meter deep and originally formed the *cardo* of the ancient settlement. A couple of hundred yards farther on is a modern hut-village, composed of a group of straw *capanne* shaped like the ancient hut-urns and preserving for thousands of years the traditions of the old hut-dwellers. Near at hand are fragments of the primitive city wall built of roughly squared blocks, one piece forming an angle while others rise to three or four courses.

An important discovery was a *fossa* tomb containing a sarcophagus made of the trunk of an oak split in half and still enclosing the skeleton, together with a bronze basin and local seventh-century pottery, some of which imitates oriental or geometric styles and is similar to that found in the *fossæ* of the Esquiline or the *Ager Faliscus*.

Doubtless, it was the strategic position of Gabii which led to her importance. The terms of the treaty between Rome and Gabii, which we do not know in detail but which apparently included an oath of friendship, may have been designed to break the connection of the Veii-Præneste trade-route, for however strong the bond between the two cities in the "orientalizing" period, the lack

of Attic imports in Præneste at a time when they were plentiful in Veii points to a severance of relations. The fact that the *Ager Gabinus* continued to exist as a special territory and the statement that the old name for the Via Prænestina was the Via Gabina point to the prominence of the city in old days, but after it became a dependent of Rome we hear little of it.

The treaty, which according to Dionysius was inscribed on a wooden shield covered with the hide of the very bull slain in the sacrifice of treaty-making, was kept in the Temple of Dius Fidius on the Quirinal. Recent researches have shown that the burning of Rome by the Gauls in 390 B.C. did not destroy all the ancient documents, as is commonly stated, but that many survived, including treaties in the temples on the Quirinal and the Aventine; consequently, there is no reason to disbelieve the statement of Dionysius that the shield existed in his time.

After subduing Gabii, Tarquin made treaties with the Æquians and the Etruscans, while in the other directions he proceeded to strengthen his frontiers by sending colonists to Signia and Circeii. These were to guard by land and by sea against the encroachments of the neighbors from the Volscian mountains, and the constant passing back and forth of the border towns from one side to the other makes it impossible to tell who were their found-

ers, since Suessa Pometia, Cora, Velitræ and Satricum—all seem to have been now Volscian, now Latin.

Signia, which was in a fine situation, higher even than Præneste, on one of the northern spurs of the Volscian mountains, held one end of the line of defense and appears to have been chiefly a garrison town.

The city walls built of great cyclopean blocks in polygonal style may belong to the Roman colony established in 510 B.C. and augmented in 495, but are thought by Professor Frothingham to be a couple of centuries earlier. He believes that a native town was taken over by the Romans and that the three-stepped basement of the temple on the acropolis, a basement of white limestone built in polygonal style like the city walls which measure ten feet in height, was also pre-Roman. The temple *cella* was constructed of squared blocks of *peperino* and is built into the church of St. Peter. The temple edifice was called the *Capitolium* and was probably similar to the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus at Rome, since an inscription to Juno suggests a triple worship. In the local museum are terra-cotta *antefixa* and slabs belonging to the sixth and fifth centuries which would agree well with the traditional date of founding. The *stips votiva* goes back only to the fourth cen-

tury, and since it does not correspond to the periods represented by the temple may perhaps have been robbed before the excavations.

For Circeii there are practically no data forthcoming. On the huge rock towering aloft more than five hundred meters almost like an island, were two settlements, the city near S. Felice and the *arx* on the extremity of the long ridge, a rectangular citadel 190 meters by 95 with heavy polygonal walls 2.50 meters thick at the base and 1.50 at the top. A long causeway protected by two polygonal walls ran up the mountain from city to citadel, an arrangement familiar at Præneste but better preserved here. These may represent an older settlement at S. Felice and a Roman colony on the *arx*. Nothing is said about the discovery of any small objects, but the mention of Circeii in the Carthaginian-Roman treaty of 509 B.C. points to her firm establishment by that time.

The expansion described in the first book of Livy terminates with the establishment of these two colonies, but in this neighborhood there are two or three other towns which Livy mentions in later books and at which important remains have come to light.

Velitræ, originally a Volscian city, comes into the narrative in Book II. 30 in connection with the

inroads of Volscians and Æquians. It was captured with terrific slaughter, its territory seized, and a Roman colony was planted there in 494.

Antium, also Volscian, together with Corioli, fell speedily into the Romans' hands; Satricum first appears in Livy's pages as one of the bones of contention between Latins and Volscians, while Lanuvium figures a generation later in the eternal struggle of the inveterate enemies.

Discoveries made at these places show that there was no real difference between the cities of the Volscians and the Latins; the distinction appears rather to have been between the raiders from the hills and the more civilized dwellers in the towns.

Velitræ was usefully situated on the route between Præneste and Satricum on a spur between the Montes Lepini and the Alban Hills; she was therefore in a commanding position and reached the height of her power in the fifth century during which, after her first capture and colonization by the Romans, she succeeded in breaking away from time to time from her conquerors.

The temple was on the *arx* and now lies beneath the church of SS. Stimmati where excavations in 1910 established the line of its orientation and found fragments of its tufa walls, while architectural decorations belonging to the Ionic period give additional evidence for the existence of the citadel in the sixth and fifth centuries. From the

stips votiva of the same period there came a miniature terra-cotta building with gable roof, tiles, and other interesting architectural details, although it is not quite clear whether a house or a temple is represented. A still earlier occupation is indicated by the discovery of a *tumulus* one meter high and one meter in circumference, built of small lava blocks in converging courses with a slab across the top, and containing a hut-urn.

But of all the towns near the Volscian border the one which has furnished the most valuable information is Satricum, situated by the hill of Conca a few miles from the coast on the river Astura and serving as port for the trade that passed to the sea from the great fortress-city of Præneste.

Their chief sanctuary was the Temple of Mater Matuta, remains of which have been found on a plateau north-northwest of the Conca hill; they are massive walls now overgrown with thick vegetation but indicating that temples belonging to three different periods had existed there, while smaller sanctuaries have been discovered near at hand. Besides the temples, there are houses, sepulchers, and the votive deposits of the sanctuary which bear witness to the early habitation of the site. On the acropolis were foundations for huts of the usual round, elliptical or rectangular shapes, circular hearths with ashes, charcoal, bones, pottery and scanty remains of bronze, dating from the

earliest Iron Age until the middle of the sixth century. Contemporary with the settlement were the cemeteries, some of which extended to the west of the plateau, while others to the east, north, and south of Conca may have belonged to some of the outlying villages that existed in the neighborhood. The tombs are of all types, *pozzi*, *fossæ*, *tumuli*, and one *camera*, and the rite of cremation exists in all periods although the *fossæ* included burials as well.

There is no need for a detailed discussion of the pottery which by this time has become so familiar a characteristic of the tombs of Latium. It ranges from coarse local *impasto*, often with the distinctive rectangular rope-decoration, to the plentiful importations of Italo-Geometric, Corinthian, *bucchero*, and finer local wares with graffiti decorations. With the *impasto* ware were *fibulæ a disco*, spear-heads and swords of bronze, and with the wares of the orientalizing period were brooches of the arched and *navicella* types decorated with incised designs, tripods, jugs, and *pateræ*, and bronze weapons which were supplanted by those of iron before the close of the period. Amber was plentifully used either as beads or knobs to decorate *fibulæ* or in the form of skillfully carved little pendants representing animals and human beings.

The acropolis seems originally to have been occupied by houses, and the remains in the oldest

stips dating back to the seventh century suggest that the religious worship was carried on at first in the open air, since these remains antedate any temple so far discovered. About the middle of the sixth century the houses were cleared away and the first temple (of the so-called Ionic period) was built over the *favissa*. The earliest architectural terra-cottas are of the sixth century, or possibly the seventh. These are the friezes with galloping riders and the *acroteria* with bearded gorgons, while terra-cottas of a slightly later date exhibit distinctly Ionic traits.

This early temple seems to have been destroyed about the end of the sixth century and to have been replaced by the structure of the second period, which remained until at least the third or second century, to which date belongs the material of the later votive *stips*. The literary evidence agrees with this, inasmuch as Livy says the temple was struck by lightning at the close of the third century.

Probably contemporary with the second temple were some house foundations of tufa blocks on the acropolis, many of which cut into the hearths belonging to the huts of the earlier settlement.

The Temple of Matuta will be mentioned again in the chapter describing the structure of the Italic temple, since it is one of the most useful sources of our knowledge on the subject. On the hill were

remains of foundation walls which differed in the dimensions of the blocks, the quality of tufa used, and the orientation of the column-bases, facts which point to the reconstruction of the temple at several periods.

The earlier temple, orientated towards the west, consisted of a *cella* and front vestibule of elongated proportions, with a colonnade around the building or perhaps only on the sides and front. On the same site a larger temple was later erected, preserving the same elongated plan with *cella* and front vestibule and colonnade, but with an orientation more towards the south.

Remains of the architectural decoration of the first phase (middle of the sixth century) are scarce and consist of a few frieze slabs with riders and archers, some fragments of a frieze with palmettes and lotus flowers and some terminal tiles; on the other hand, the material of the second period (sixth to fifth century) affords abundant examples of every known kind of decoration. These furnish so many variations of each type that they are too many for one temple and probably belong to extensive renovations in the same style, since no architectural terra-cottas of the Hellenistic type have been found within the precinct.

The two periods of the *stips* do not correspond exactly to the temple periods. The archaic phase began apparently before the building of the first

temple and has many objects from the seventh and sixth centuries, including local pottery, the usual imported wares, particularly Corinthian, bronze and iron ornaments, gold, silver, faience, glass paste, amber, bone, and ivory. Then comes a long *lacuna* from about 550 to 400 before the later *stips* begins. This is about a century earlier than the *lacuna* in Etruria and Latium, which begins in the middle of the fifth century when the struggles of the young republic put a temporary stop to the prosperity that had existed under the kings, and it is difficult to explain in relation to the archaic period of the temple. It was a time when Attic importations were rare in Latium compared with Etruria or Campania, but the absence of local votive bronzes and terra-cottas is decidedly puzzling.

Satricum is the last of the prosperous border towns which Livy mentions in connection with the early republic, but which are known to have existed in earlier centuries. The rich discoveries from this site, now the Villa Giulia Museum, enable us to fill out some of the missing pages of the story of Rome's expansion in Latium.

We have had occasion earlier to emphasize the importance of Præneste, a town which Livy ignores until the year 499 when it revolted from the Latins to the Romans. Later, he speaks of the fields having been laid waste by plunderers

from the mountains, and finally tells of its surrender to Rome in the year 380, but if we depended entirely upon him we should never suspect the significance of this great stronghold in the early history of Latium.

The imposing fortress, twenty-five miles from the sea and towering up twenty-five hundred feet as guardian of the pass, with its lofty citadel, and its road defended between polygonal walls which lead to the summit from the town below, is the most extraordinary phenomena from the archæological point of view that has been found in Latium.

The excavations have been mostly sporadic, sometimes the work of looters, and no exact record of them exists, but the oldest remains seem to have been of the usual indigenous type of the *pozzo* period. Suddenly, in the seventh century, in the period of oriental importations, the simple shepherd-farmers become metamorphosed into lovers of all sorts of objects of luxury, the graves are filled with gorgeous bronzes, weapons, jewelry, and articles dazzling in their richness. There are silver cups brought from Cyprus by the Phœnicians, vessels of gold, fine jewelry cunningly wrought with granulated ornamental patterns, carved ivories, beautiful glass, amber, a profusion of bronze bowls, craters, repoussé work, and proto-Corinthian ointment vases. The transformation is

astounding and can be explained only by imagining that the control of the city had passed into the hands of others who can have been only the Etruscans, for the resemblance between the famous Bernardino and Barberini tombs and those in Etruria, particularly at Cære, is complete.

The reason for the increase in prosperity and for the seizure of the city by the Etruscans has already been discussed and need not be elaborated here. The strategic value of the site, the key to the pass leading to the centers of Etruscan power in Campania, is sufficient explanation, and for more than a century the prosperity seems to have continued undiminished, while the coast trade through the port of Satricum must have been most flourishing. Then there comes a change, a divergence between the contents of the Prænestine and Etruscan tombs, for the latter are very rich in Attic pottery, both the black-figured and red-figured of the severe style, while at Præneste no Attic vases have been found and no trace of direct commerce with the Greeks has been discovered. Etruscan mirrors of the sixth and fifth centuries show that commerce with Etruria still continued. In the fourth century Præneste again evinces great activity and develops the specialty of mirrors and *cistæ* of bronze which make the collections found there the most magnificent known.

And so we have seen how the traditions of the

early centuries which correspond to the period of the kings have in general been substantiated and even added to by discoveries, and how that Campagna which Juno saw from Mons Albanus at last passed under the control of the city of Romulus; and besides this we have seen how the border country, the dangerous Volscian mountains, the seaports, and the inland fortress of Præneste, watch-dog over the neighboring territory, have formed a ring around the plain of Latium. Although for many years the cities continued to rise in revolt, it was not in order to throw off a foreign yoke, for the settlements in Latium were fundamentally the same: each had a chance to become leader of the group and each naturally looked askance at the transformation of one of themselves into the position of something more than *primus inter pares*.

CHAPTER VI

ETRURIA AND ITS EARLY INHABITANTS

NO student of English history would nowadays think of beginning with the arrival of the Angles and Saxons, but would turn back into the remote past and begin with the earliest inhabitants of the island known until the middle of the fifth century A.D. as Britain, and would realize that the country we call England had a long history before the coming of the people who gave their name to the land they conquered. Much the same is true of the district known as Etruria, which before the coming of the Etruscans had been inhabited for centuries by people of whose name we are less sure than we are about those whom the Romans called Britons.

Ancient historians throw little light on the subject, for they habitually speak of the Etruscans as though they were a homogeneous people, the inveterate enemies of Rome since the dawn of history, and a constant menace to their neighbors on the left bank of the Tiber until the days when Etruria

went down before the growing power of Rome, was garrisoned, and eventually converted into great country estates of the Roman nobles.

The fact that the history of Etruria has been written by her enemies, that she has left us no readable records in which she has told the tale from her point of view, and that terror and bitterness have inevitably led Roman historians to do her less than justice, has prevented a reasonable attitude on the part of students of her history and even of her antiquities. It is only in recent years that the study of the actual remains of Etruscan civilization has made us appreciate the contributions of Etruria to the progress of Italy and that a really sympathetic and open-minded point of view has demolished the sweeping generalizations regarding the heavy, clumsy, inartistic Etruscans whose grotesque taste blighted all the art with which it came in contact and whose profane hands and dull-witted blunderings made their imitations of Greek models into stupid parodies. Only a madman would expect the supreme artistic genius of the Greeks ever to be duplicated, but taken on their own merits many of the productions of Etruria are full of charm and interest, while the very inconsistencies and contradictions they exhibit lead us into all sorts of pathways in the effort to discover the reasons for the paradox. Of the art of the Etruscans and some of the influences which molded

it we shall speak later, and we shall see too that some of the mystery surrounding these strange people is beginning to be cleared away through the recognition of the part played by their contemporaries in stimulating their efforts.

Ever since the earliest days of which tradition tells us, the Etruscan shadow loomed large, and the power of Etruria firmly established across the river, seemed a menace to the growing community of Romans. In the second chapter of the first book Livy says their fame filled the whole of Italy by land and by sea from the Alps to Sicily, and although Vergil makes them the allies of Æneas and Latinus, there still were Etruscan enemies like Mezentius of Cære fighting on the other side. The antipathy which existed may have been due to racial prejudice, for the Etruscans were regarded as foreigners, orientals, people very different from the sturdy Romans, and this may have added to the natural fear of a powerful and ambitious enemy, and yet we know now that whatever may have held true of their rulers, the majority of the people of Etruria were akin to their Latin neighbors. The substratum of Italic stock, that which produced the civilization of the early Iron Age in the *pozzo* and early *fossa* tombs, even when under the sway of a dominant minority of chieftains, still preserved a large proportion of the older population, the personal names show a mixture of Etrus-

can and Latin, and though the Etruscan language appears to have become the usual one in northern Etruria, southern Etruria with the cities of Falerii and Capena continued to speak a native dialect known as Faliscan, while in that pre-eminently Etruscan rival of Rome, Veii, not a single Etruscan inscription has as yet come to light. This seems extraordinary in view of the belief that the nobles and kings doubtless spoke Etruscan, and it is they who might have been expected to erect monuments or to write the names of the departed in their family tombs. But since only one of these tombs has been discovered and much of Veii still remains to be excavated, it is hardly fair to press the point.

The unpopularity of the second Tarquin and the resolve never to allow any of the hated race to occupy the throne, very naturally obscured any consciousness of relationship between the substratum of Etruria and that of Latium, and an early peace was made by the two nations agreeing that the river Albula, later known as Tiber, should be the common boundary between them. But blood was thicker than water and, despite the distrust and aversion and the unceasing efforts of each to eliminate the rival power from the field of action which is so constantly emphasized in literature and history, the archæological discoveries have demonstrated clearly, not only that the *Ager Faliscus* pre-

served a close affinity with Latium, but that the civilization of Etruria and Latium in the eighth to the sixth centuries was largely identical, the differences consisting mostly in things which Etruria possessed and Latium did not.

Having for a time recognized the river boundary and kept on their side of it, the Veientes became involved in war with the Romans when the latter were fighting the people of Fidenæ, since the Etruscan character of the Fidenates gave a good excuse for going to their aid. The successful Romans confiscated some of the land of Veii and signed a truce for a hundred years. Nevertheless, the Veientes went again to the assistance of the people of Fidenæ and were again routed in a desperate struggle. Even a Roman historian gives the devil his due when stating that the government of Veii observed the faith of the truce a few years later when the Sabines sought their aid in war against Rome and succeeded in getting only a few straggling volunteers from among the populace. With the taking of the Mæsian forest from Veii when Ancus Marcius was extending the Roman dominion to the seaport of Ostia, there was a cessation of hostilities and the story of the coming of the first Tarquin from Etruria follows shortly afterward.

Livy's account of this is so dramatic, his character drawing so vivid, his gift for the picturesque

so brilliantly exemplified, that it is by no means easy to proceed to a judicious analysis to determine how far the Tarquins, their wives, and their daughters, are a personification of Etruscan qualities, or to what extent we may think of them as real flesh and blood people. The light thrown upon conditions in the Etruria from which they came is rather illuminating.

The pride of the Etruscans, who despised Lucumo because he was sprung from a foreign exile, forgetting that they themselves had been immigrants only a few generations back, debarred him from a chance to rise high in power there. In a few lines Livy makes us see Lucumo, rich and enterprising, full of ambitions augmented by the encouragement of his high-born wife, their journey to Rome, the favorable incident and omens on the Janiculum, the entry into the city and hiring of a house in which, through his hospitality, his tact, and his attractive manners, he was so popular that in a short time he became the intimate companion of the king and guardian of his children after his death. Next we see him going around the city making a political speech in favor of his candidacy; then follow his election as king by a great majority, his subsequent wars, his interest in public works, his leveling of the area for the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, and his adoption of the young Servius Tullius who received an educa-

tion fitting his position and eventually married the king's daughter like the prince in the fairy-tale. Afterwards came his shocking murder, engineered by the sons of Ancus Marcius, who felt themselves defrauded of their kingdom and resented a ruler who was not even of an Italian family, and followed by the magnificent bluff of the queen who concealed what had occurred until she had safely placed Servius on the throne.

Such according to Livy was the first of the Tarquins, a man whose rise to power was due to his personal charm, his courtesy, his popularity with the voters, and whose reign of thirty-eight years was marked by public spirit at home and success on the battlefield, not a tyrant whose upward path was marked with bloodshed or one who based his position on military force, but a man who deserved a better fate than murder because of supposed personal grievance. The children of Ancus did not profit by the dastardly deed for which they had been responsible, but went into exile among the Volscians at Suessa Pometia and we hear no more of them.

Servius hoped to ward off similar plots against himself by marrying his two daughters to the young sons of Tarquin, Lucius and Aruns, but in spite of the great achievements of Servius for his country and his popularity with the Roman people, the restlessness and jealousy of Lucius Tarquin soon

resulted in a net of intrigue being woven about the king.

Even in Livy one encounters few passages as full of drama as the forty-sixth to forty-eighth chapters with the lurid tale of plot and counterplot, scheming, and cross-purposes. The mismating of the mild Tarquin with the violent Tullia and the spiritless sister with the restless Tarquin; the scorn of Tullia for her gentle Aruns and her contempt for her sister whose daring did not match that of her husband; the plots hatched between the two strong characters—the blame for which as usual is laid at the woman's door—the conviction that they two were the only suitable mates, the judicious murders that cleared the way for this consummation, the whole tale reeking with blood reminds one of the gory annals of the Merovingian kings, and the sulphurous careers of those resourceful queens Brunhilda and Fredegond.

To an extraordinary extent the tale of the Tarquins is linked with the activity of the women of the royal households. The rise to power of each of the Etruscan kings was largely due to—or at any rate aided and abetted by—the agency of the so-called weaker sex. Tanaquil, descendant of an aristocratic family, ambitious, sensitive, determined, skilled in knowledge of divination, a fit hostess for Tarquin's social entertainments, wise in interpreting the meaning of the strange phenomena about

the young Servius Tullius, seeing his promise, and according to one version receiving his mother as an intimate friend, accepting him as son-in-law, securing the succession for him by her courage and diplomacy in addressing the populace from a window in the palace and urging them to obey him during the illness of Tarquin, while he already lay dead within, and disappearing from the narrative after the grand climax of magnificent courage—such a woman, maker of kings, is a commanding figure and one who inspires respect as well as admiration, for we learn of no baseness or wickedness in her character.

Contrast with this, Tullia, the quintessence of villainy, whose ambition led her into every conceivable crime: responsibility for the murder of her sister and father, cruelty, brutality, sacrilege. And she was not even an heroic villain, but full of spite, nagging, and taunting, egotistical, and a match for the man whose reign became a byword for iniquity so that not even the name of *rex* was suffered thereafter by the Romans. It is rather an anticlimax to learn that the speech of Brutus in which the crimes of Tarquin were enumerated, resulted only in the exile of the king, his children, and his wife, who paid but a cheap penalty for her misdeeds although she fled amongst the curses of men and women as they invoked upon her the furies who were avengers of parents.

It was to Cære that the exiled Tarquins went, and since that city from early legendary times had been associated with tyrants, they were perhaps less unwelcome than one might have expected, although Cære on the whole was friendly to the Roman republic. But even the exile of the kings, which evidently means the end of actual Etruscan rule in Rome, did not put a stop to the rivalry of the powers on either side of the Tiber, for the early years of the republic were occupied in defeating plots to restore the Tarquins. Their lands were confiscated and a part of them became the Campus Martius, but there continued a strong pro-Tarquin party at Rome among the younger generation and when their conspiracy failed, Tarquin went around the cities of Etruria to seek aid in punishing the ungrateful Romans. The Veientes in hope of recovering some of their lost lands, and the Tarquinenses because of the name and kinship followed the exiled king into a battle in which his son Aruns and the consul Brutus fell. The attempt of Lars Porsenna may have been more successful than the famous story of Horatius at the bridge would lead us to believe, since Tacitus says that the city was surrendered, and according to Pliny and Plutarch tribute was paid to "Etruria." This must mean the Etruscan cities under the leadership of Porsenna, for there is no evidence of a united Etruria as early as this time,

but it indicates the weakness of the infant republic after Rome had lost the protection and the commercial expansion which went far to counterbalance the disadvantages inherent in the rule of her Etruscan lords. The diminution of imported objects and the dwindling of her prosperity may be observed by contrasting the remains of sixth and fourth century Rome. Free though she might be from odious tyranny, and delivered from the yoke of an alien power, the severance of peaceful relations cut Rome off from a civilization that had attained a higher phase of development than her own and one from which she might have learned much, but the struggle for liberty with its inevitable train of social and political controversies, the rivalry of factions, classes, and perhaps racial elements also, reduced Rome once more to the simpler conditions of frontier life and submerged for a long time all her interest in those arts which she regarded as luxuries unworthy of men of steadfast purpose.

But that period of Roman history lies outside the part of Livy with which we are concerned, and the epoch of the kings is full of connections with the rich and varied culture of their Etruscan neighbors. From Etruria the Tarquins came and to Etruria they returned. An ignominious flight and exile marked their re-entry to their native land, in striking contrast to the picture that rises to our

minds as we imagine the first Tarquin setting out for the land of promise, journeying along the coast of the Maremma with his wife, his crowds of retainers, and his goods, inspired by high hopes and encouraged by auspicious omens.

The last of the Tarquins—for there seems to have been little to choose between Superbus and his sons—were a sorry lot, and Superbus died in 495 at Cumæ at the court of the tyrant Aristodemus with whom he had taken refuge after the downfall of his plans. This was the sad end of a family which in its earlier generations commanded respect for unquestioned ability, even though that respect was mixed with the scorn the Etruscans felt for the foreigners.

The founder of the family was Damaratus of Corinth, said by Livy to have fled from his country for sedition, but according to other authorities one of the many who for political reasons departed in the middle of the seventh century at the time of the fall of the Bacchiadæ, to which noble clan he belonged. A man of substance, he brought along artists and potters with him and after settling in Tarquinii—where he married an Etruscan wife—he amassed a large fortune, and we read of the great wealth he bequeathed to his son Lucumo. Once upon a time this story used to be considered good fiction, later the more liberally minded historians regarded it as within the bounds of possi-

bility, but since the days of using archæological evidence it would be folly to deny its probability in view of the enormous quantity of Corinthian pottery discovered in the Etruscan tombs. Sometimes a vase in Etruria is almost identical with one from Corinth, possibly made in the same workshop, although the custom of signing vases did not prevail in Corinth as it did in Athens, and the flourishing potteries of Corinth found an eager market in the cities of the western world. A terracotta plaque representing a ship laden with a huge store of vases is representative of the vessels that made their way out through the Gulf of Corinth, up the west coast of Hellas and across to Magna Græcia. These ships may have sailed direct all the way to Etruria after passing the Straits of Messina, or they may have headed for Corinth's great colony Syracuse whose commerce developed at an early date and who may have acted as middleman for the distribution of goods to points farther north. Cumæ also appears to have shared in this activity and the Corinthian vases found on both sites bear witness to the popularity of the ware which was the leading style in Greece until supplanted by the Attic. But although quantities of Corinthian pottery have been discovered at these cities, a vast amount of it which found its way farther north testifies to the wealth of the Etruscans in the seventh century. There is, however,

plentiful evidence to show that before the great period of importation the land of Etruria had been occupied by the people of Italic stock to whom reference has already been made and that its surface had been dotted over with their settlements.

The volcanic district of Etruria with its ravines and rocky plateaux affords countless admirable sites for human habitation, and the two favorite situations, either on a fairly isolated height or on a tongue of land flanked by rivers or glens, have already been exemplified in Rome itself by the Palatine and the Quirinal. The more broken character of the Etruscan landscape with its rolling hills and its frequent strongholds has resulted in its occupation by many groups of people gathered into cities of considerable size. In any country, sites easily defended and high enough to serve as lookouts would naturally be the choice of settlers, but the preference for moderately high, level-topped elevations rather than mountain peaks or lowland plains appears to be a feature common to the Iron Age inhabitants on whichever side of the Tiber they lived. Nearly every Etruscan site of importance is now known to have been formerly inhabited by the Italic peoples of an earlier date.

The present desolation of the country due to malaria or due to neglect, the waste barren spaces, mercifully covered with carpetings of gay flowers, the lack of cultivation in areas often many miles

in extent make it difficult for us to realize what Etruria must have looked like in the days of her prosperity when she was able to support so many towns and to acquire enough wealth to enable the residents of the cities to buy all the imported luxuries which have been found in the tombs. One great resource was her mines—iron and copper—which doubtless enabled her to be one of the pioneer distributors of iron when it was still an expensive and sought-after novelty, but at some time her fields must have been covered with wheat and vines where now there grows nothing planted by the hand of man.

Of her many cities, we can turn only to those which figure in the first book of *Livy*, particularly Veii, Cære, and Tarquinii. Veii, the great rival of Rome, lay about ten miles across the Tiber in a northwesterly direction, and the centuries have done their most to obliterate the traces of the city so that even its exact site was for a long time a matter of dispute. The frequency with which the poets emphasize the disappearance or desolation of many of the early adversaries of Rome leads one to question whether a certain patriotic motive may not have underlain the desire to point a contrast in the fate of the rivals of the Eternal City, and Propertius who tells of the music of shepherds within the ancient walls, once the scene of so busy a life, is but typical of innumerable similar Jere-

mias continuing through the ages to the mediæval poet who bewails the cows in the Forum and the goats on the Capitoline. Although Veii was far too large actually to escape notice, the name of this imposing ancient city was not definitely known until the discovery of inscriptions at Isola Farnese.

The little hamlet of Isola Farnese, generally characterized as "wretched," but splendidly perched on an isolated height above steep cliffs and occupied in the Middle Ages by a castle, is the one modern village at the site of famous Veii. Across a ravine rises the hilly district on which the ancient settlements from Villanovan to Roman times were situated. At the southeastern end, separated from the main settlement by a depression, is the hill now called Piazza d'Armi, once the *arx*, and a little farther southeast the serpentine stream called Fosso di Formello flows in a southerly direction and joins the Fosso de' due Fossi coming from the northwest to form the Cremera that eventually finds its way to the Tiber opposite Fidenæ. These two streams bound the greater part of the ancient city and from Isola Farnese one looks across the green ravine of the Fossi to the site of the recent excavations where were found the terra-cotta Apollo and his companions. Following the road westward and then turning off at right angles northward, one

crosses the upper waters of the Fossi at a mill, and after rounding the shoulder of the city, comes upon the ruins of a fine Roman road which cuts right through the precinct. Here in 1916 in the place called Cannetaccio on a sort of shelf or terrace on the south slope of the hill, the statues were discovered carefully put away in a trench on the north side of the Roman road, across which to the south were the foundations of a temple with tripartite *cella*. Whatever the date of the present structure, it preserves the traditional ground plan and is built of massive blocks of tufa. The numerous tufa walls, fragments of tiles, *antefixæ* and votive offerings indicate that this was a great religious sanctuary, another interesting feature of which is the altar-base situated a little to the east of the temple, with its channel running across obliquely to where it intersects the conduit conveying water from the sacred spring on the other side of the road.

The remains on the citadel indicate that there were probably three periods of occupation, the earliest belonging to the Italic period when the people lived in perishable huts, and were buried in *pozzo* and early *fossa* graves (tenth to eighth centuries); then above the old settlement were tufa house walls and pottery of the orientalizing period (eighth to sixth centuries) when the larger *fossæ* and *camera* tombs with rich contents were in use.

Of the following period, known as the time of Greek influence, few tombs have been discovered although the temple terra-cottas and some votive deposits with fragments of Attic vases point to continued prosperity in the sixth and fifth centuries. An elliptical structure eighteen by fourteen meters in size, made of large roughly cut blocks of tufa, sunk about one meter below the ground level with a few steps at the south end leading down into it, is thought possibly to be the foundation of some public building on the model of a *capanna*, like the Temple of Vesta in the Forum Romanum.

But even if the city has left few remains and the temple has not been published, the tombs grouped about in various quarters of the hill can throw a good deal of light on Veii's history. The oldest *pozzi* are small and contain Villanovan or hut-urns, *fibulæ*, and the usual grave articles of the early Iron Age; later they become larger circles and are rich in bronze while the urns are placed in *dolii*, and some of the tombs have little niches and *loculi* at the sides. In the orientalizing period cremation burials often take place in *fossa* graves, while in the sixth and fifth centuries quadrangular *camera* tombs with steps leading down and *loculi* at the sides also continue the rite of cremation. But along with these, as in the Forum graves at Rome, are *fossæ* with burials, and both practices are usual in the chamber-tombs. The gradual transition

from *fossæ*—originally shallow rectangles which become deeper and larger—to *cameræ* can be clearly traced, and except for the entrance corridor and steps they are almost identical. In fact, at Præneste the ruinous condition of some of the tombs made it almost impossible to distinguish large *fossæ* from *camera* tombs of the simpler type. The *fossæ* at Veii are generally marked by a *cippus*. The oldest *cameræ* have a long corridor and no benches or *loculi* at the sides though sometimes traces of red color on the wall are preserved. The ordinary practice of using the tombs for subsequent burials does not seem to have been observed here.

The necropolis is closely connected in culture with Cære, Tarquinii, and Vulci (the cities especially associated with the Tarquins), but is distinguished by a greater number of local products, fewer importations, and a lack of richer objects. The *fossæ* with *loculi* and coffins made of the trunks of trees are similar to those in the neighboring cemeteries in the *Ager Faliscus* and the Capena territory as well as in Latium. Such burials have already been noted at Gabii and in Rome. Veii, as we have seen, was one of the stations on the Cære-Præneste route and many objects of bronze, like shields, bowls, and other vessels point to close relationship between the central city and both ends of the line.

While the objects of the oriental period at Veii were fairly plentiful, the city never seems to have approached the wealth of either Cære or Præneste, and being inland was less subject to the influences introduced by commerce with the eastern Mediterranean or Magna Græcia. The view is coming more and more generally to be held that the Etruscans did not settle as conquerors who attempted to force their own civilization on the natives, but that their penetration was of a gradual and on the whole peaceful character. It has been pointed out that the unquestioned influence of the Greeks on the Etruscans was not the result of conquest or of colonization, and the same holds true of the Etruscan rule over the people who first sought the vantage points in Tuscany for their habitations.

The only painted *camera* tomb at Veii, the famous Grotto Campana, is too well known to need description here, but it must be mentioned as one of the outstanding examples of Ionic influence in this city and as the most archaic of the Etruscan tombs, dating back to the seventh century. Whether the familiar long-legged red horses with their boy riders and accompanying men, the space-filling grotesque animals and palmettes and lotus flowers represent a funeral scene or are of purely decorative nature hardly concerns us, though the blue background, and the red bodies and alternately red and yellow legs of the horses have led some

scholars to believe that the scene may have had as a model some gorgeous tapestry rather than vase paintings, although *Æ*gean prototypes in the field of fresco may easily be found.

Valuable though this tomb is for indicating the indebtedness of Etruria to the people in the *Æ*gean—or Ionian—area, still more convincing proof of the connection is afforded by the terra-cotta statues of the Apollo group which we might take for Ionic work were it not for Pliny's statement about the importance of the Veian school of sculpture in this material.

The literary traditions of Cære carry back its history to the earliest times, for it was said to have been founded by Pelasgians from Thrace. Livy speaks of it as a flourishing city when *Æ*neas landed in Latium, and Vergil begins his pageant of the clans of Italy with the tyrant Mezentius, bitter scion of the gods, who is thus set forth in contrast to the *pius Æneas*. With him went his beautiful son Lausus, taking one thousand men from Agylla, as Cære was formerly called, a son who Vergil says deserved to have a better father than that Mezentius on whom the poet has used all his skill in depicting the bad qualities of those inveterate foes the Etruscans. Yet we have already seen that most of the Etruscans were on the side of *Æ*neas and that Cære apparently was only one, not necessarily the capital, of the Etruscan cities,

though a rich and prosperous one. The wealth of Cære has been well demonstrated by the discoveries in the tombs, some of which have already been mentioned when discussing the trade-route between this city and Præneste. The resemblances are extraordinary and the analogy between the great prince's tomb at Cære (the Regulini-Galassi) and the princely tombs at Præneste (known as the Barberini and Bernardini) is too striking to be the result of accident and points to a close relationship between the two cities.

But before the orientalizing period of the seventh century to which these tombs belong, Cære had been inhabited for a long time, as the remains show.

The city was about twenty-five miles northwest of Rome and four miles from the coast, a position which kept it safe from the inroads of pirates, but which had the advantages of a seaport by using the two harbors, Alsum and Pyrgi. The site is the customary tableland with steep cliffs falling away except towards the north where a neck connects it with the high ground near by. Even a century ago there remained few vestiges of the ancient city, most of it being under the plough, but the size and general characteristics may be recognized. The circuit was four or five miles, thus agreeing with the reports that it was a large city, and the few traces of walls remaining were of smallish rectan-

gular blocks of tufa similar to those at Veii and Tarquinii while eight gates gave access to the oblong city. The cliffs below were honeycombed with drains and tombs in the usual fashion. To the north a narrow glen divided the city from the ridge known as the Banditaccia where the necropolis was situated. This is reached from the modern village of Cerveteri by going up the Fossa del Marmo.

It was literally a city of the dead, for the tombs were ranged along streets, one broad and several narrower ones at right angles, a remodeling which took place in the time of the *camera* tombs and destroyed some of the older *pozzetti* and *fossæ* which had previously existed on the site. The earliest archaic *fossæ* were contemporary with the Villanovan cremations, and both methods of disposing of the dead are found side by side just as they were in the Forum Romanum and in the other old cemeteries to the north and southeast of the city of Cære. The oldest *cameræ* were either isolated or grouped together under a tumulus in an irregular fashion, but after the fourth century the model town-planning of the necropolis resulted in a rigid arrangement in neat streets. Unfortunately, the results of the most recent excavations have not been fully published, the discussion of the earlier tombs has not yet appeared, and the report of 1915 concerns itself chiefly with those of the fourth century

or later. These are so interesting from the architectural point of view, as to plan, details of construction, imitation in stone of wooden building methods, and wall decorations, as well as for the light they throw on certain burial customs—for example: the placing of a columnar *cippus* over the graves of men and of a little box over those of women, the marking of a cross or an anchor over the entrance door and then filling the doors up to a point where only the mark was visible—that it is no wonder the later tombs have attracted attention before the older ones which have so little of interest except to the professed archæologist, or to the historian interested in connections and contacts rather than in the study of the artistic aspect. These primitive tombs are especially significant as showing the antiquity of the city and of its fundamentally Italic character before the great period of importations which introduced the rich objects in metal, the bronze vessels, the silver Phœnician or perhaps Cypriote bowls, the exquisite gold jewelry in granular technique with its fine craftsmanship and elaborate details, the carved ivories, and countless objects showing oriental influences extending from Ionia and Cyrus to Egypt and Phœnicia.

In the face of such evident prosperity and flourishing trade it seems probable that the reputation which according to Strabo the Cœrites enjoyed

among the Greeks for abstaining from piracy was well deserved, for the evidences of steady and consistent trade are too plentiful for us to believe that the luxurious objects were merely the plunder of piratical raids. Be that as it may, the Cœrites had a bad reputation for cruelty, having according to Herodotus stoned to death the prisoners taken at the time of the capture of the Phœcean Atalia in Corsica. In consequence, a pestilence fell upon them and the oracle at Delphi was consulted as to how expiation should be made. Strabo says that a treasury of the Cœrites existed at Delphi and it would appropriately have been erected at this time. No other writer mentions this treasury, but many cities of the western world—especially those in Sicily—had erected treasuries at Olympia long before the middle of the sixth century, and the stories which tell of consultation of the oracle by Cœrites and by Romans is perfectly possible as far as the dates are concerned, while we know that the fact of their being foreigners would be no objection since Gyges, Crœsus and many other aliens had asked advice of the Pythian priestess. The material objects in the tombs have already shown us that communication with Ionia and other Greek areas was steady and constant.

A further example of this contact is afforded by the painted terra-cotta slabs found in some of the tombs. Dennis, the English traveller who visited

Etruria several times between 1842 and 1847, and whose delightful *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria* still remains the standard work on the subject, tells about seeing five of them, forty by twenty-two inches in size, two of which were decorated with figures of a sphinx and were intended, he thought, to be placed on either side of the door, while the other three represented a continuous scene of a procession with funeral ceremonies. These were at Cære in 1876, but have since been purchased by the British Museum. They are similar to the six Campana tiles in the Louvre, but more provincial in style and less under Ionic influence. The slabs were covered with a white slip on which the decoration was drawn in outline and then filled in with color, red, yellow and black. Painting on terra-cotta slabs is well illustrated by the archaic metopes from the temples at Thermon in Ætolia and at Syracuse. Although the plaques from Cære are said to show Ionic influence, that of Corinth is clearly apparent on the Syracusan example which represents Medusa with Pegasus.

According to Pliny, the art of painting developed early at Cære, for he saw paintings made before the days of Rome and was astonished at the rapid progress of an art that he said was not practiced in the days of Troy. Had Pliny had something besides the *Iliad* to depend on, he would not have made such a statement, for we know now

how fresco painting flourished in Crete and at Mycenæ and Tiryns, but the Etruscan paintings must indeed have appeared very old, whether reference is made to those in the tombs or in the temples.

Before leaving the later tombs, we must speak of what once aroused much excitement and interest, namely, the discovery of a great family tomb evidently belonging to a branch of the Tarquins, for on the walls the Etruscan form *Tarchnas* is inscribed thirty-one times and the Latin *Tarquinius* four times. The temptation to regard it as the last resting-place of the descendants of the exiled king is a natural one, but we have no evidence that the family remained long in Cære where they first took refuge, for they speedily made Tarquinii and Clusium the bases for their attempted restoration, and Tarquin the Second ended his days at Cumæ; moreover, the name Tarquin is a common one in Etruria and, of course, the letter forms are too late to belong to the generation of Tarquin himself. Whether a branch of the same family was buried here is beyond proof. The name Tanaquil occurs twice in the tomb, and although the date is the third and second century, it may have continued as a traditional family name.

But if we cannot press too closely the claim of the tomb of the Tarquins at Cære to be that of the famous kings, we have one early document of

great historical value. On the walls of the François tomb at Vulci—a place whose necropolis has furnished enormous quantities of sixth- and fifth-century material and one closely connected with the group of south-Etruscan cities which we have been considering—there are represented two men, one of whom is loosening the bonds which bind his companion; above the former is the name Mastarna (*Macstrna*) and above the latter Cæles Vibenna (*Caile Vipinas*). Vibenna is a well-known Etruscan name—in the same tomb is an inscription of Aule Vipinas—but the clew to the identity of Mastarna has been furnished by a speech made by the Emperor Claudius at Lyons referred to in the *Annals* of Tacitus and still preserved on a bronze tablet. Claudius who was a serious student and well versed in the history of Etruria, tells us that the Etruscan records say that Mastarna was the name of him whom we know as Servius Tullius. Here then is depicted the freeing of Cæles Vibenna when a prisoner of the guards of Cneve Tarchu Rumach (*Gnæus Tarquinius Romanus*), and tradition goes on to say that he led his people to Rome where the Cælian hill was named for him. It may seem that a record dating centuries after the supposed event is rather far removed in point of time, but Claudius's familiarity with Etruscan lore, and his delving into ancient annals have apparently resulted in unearthing the

Etruscan version of a very old story which is represented in this fourth-century fresco. Körte thinks this represents the overthrow of Tarquin the First by the Vipenas brothers from Vulci, a companion of whom was Mastarna, and that they were all leaders of bands of adventurers like the condottieri of the Renaissance.

One rather remarkable thing about Cære is that although we have little evidence concerning the temples themselves, there exists in various museums of Europe and America a large number of terra-cottas from Cære which must have come from structures similar to those in Latium and other parts of Etruria. The sites of seven or eight temples are said to have been identified, one of which was dedicated to Hera as we learn from a Greek inscription found there. The tradition of the Greek foundation of Cære, as well as the flourishing trade with Greece, make it natural that this language should have been used to some extent.

On the basis of the architectural terra-cottas it appears evident that at least two temples were situated near each other in the Vigna Marini-Vitalini. The larger of these belonged to the fifth century and was adorned with antefixes of alternating women's and satyrs' heads, a row of female heads along the lower line of the *tympanum*, and the well-known *acroterion* of Eos carrying off Cephalus (now in Berlin). The architectural revetments

were rich and varied and the decoration appears to have been renewed whenever necessary. The second temple belongs to the sixth century and the most striking terra-cottas from it consist of a group of warriors aligned on the edge of the raking-cornice and standing out against the sky. The largest figure took the place of the central *acroterion*. These were brightly painted and like the similar figures from Satricum and Falerii are a valuable source of information for the accoutrements of the soldier of the time. Friezes with processions of warriors and chariots may have belonged to the *pronaos* or the *cella* of the temple. The resemblance of these to certain friezes from Velletri is striking and, indeed, the many examples of *antefixa* with the heads of gorgons, satyrs, or women, and the friezes with riders or chariots or banquet scenes find their parallels not only at Veii, Corneto, or Vulci, but at Satricum, Signia, Antemnæ, Norba, and even Rome itself. The type most frequently repeated is the Juno Sospita already familiar from sites in Latium. On the other hand, the Attic vases frequent at Cære and her neighbors Falerii, Narce, Corchiano, and Nepi are practically unknown on the Latin side of the Tiber, a remarkable change from conditions in the seventh century when the styles of imported pottery were identical in the two areas.

Besides the two temples, there must have been

several small buildings to which may be assigned the architectural terra-cottas that do not fit either temple.

The most famous terra-cottas from Cære are, however, the three large sarcophagi in the British Museum, the Louvre, and the Villa Giulia representing the funeral couch, spread with cushions, on which are the departed pair in a semi-reclining position turning to face the spectator. The man with his neatly parted hair, his locks to the shoulder and his beard trimmed to a point, his mantle about the lower part of the body, and the woman with her long shoulder tresses and little tight-fitting cap, her tunic and mantle and upturned shoes, are admirable examples of archaic art of the Ionic school with their obliquely set eyes and their slight smile. Traces of painting remain on the couch. The Villa Giulia group is more archaic in style and more austere than the sarcophagus in the British Museum, while that in the Louvre represents a freer treatment than either of the others. The "Tartar physiognomy" whose combination with purely Hellenic ornaments of the couch so puzzled Dennis has long since been familiar to students of archaic Greek sculpture.

Unlike Cære, which has furnished so many architectural terra-cottas showing that there must have been temples situated on the plateau which formed the site of the ancient city, Tarquinii has

afforded comparatively few examples of this style of decoration; no temple foundations have yet been discovered and the very position of the city is still an unanswered question. The famous subterranean tombs are situated on the long ridge known as Monterozzi, divided by a valley from the table-land a couple of miles distant which has been identified as the ancient Etruscan town. The few ruins observed on this hill, named the Piazza di Regina, are thought to be Roman by most scholars who therefore place the site of the Etruscan city on the end of the Monterozzi ridge where stands the present village of Corneto. Not a fragment remains that can be positively recognized as part of that very ancient city whose foundation was attributed to Tarchon, son of Tyrrhenos, the Lydian, who brought the Etruscans to Italy, and which was a flourishing town at the time when Damaratus with his Corinthian companions arrived to try his fortunes in a new country. But if the living have left us no witnesses of this prosperity, the dead have preserved in their tombs many testimonies to the existence of the pre-Etruscan settlement which we have learned to expect on these sites, and a mass of evidence is at hand belonging to the centuries before the arrival of Damaratus.

In a dozen or more places to the south and east of the ridge with the *camera* tombs, excavations have brought to light innumerable early graves;

typical *pozzetti* with cremations and the customary Italic furnishings, the earliest of which appear to be contemporary with the Benacci periods, the latest of which overlap with the *fossa* burial tombs which in turn continue until after the *camera* tombs have become well established, so that we can imagine the *fossæ* prevalent in the eighth and seventh centuries and the *cameræ* from the seventh and sixth onward. The discoveries at Tarquinii, which are very plentiful indeed, as any visitor to the Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese in the town can see, have been most useful in helping to date the civilization in Etruria and Latium, for in one of the graves intermediate between a *fossa* and a *camera* was found a jar of Egyptian porcelain with the name of Bocchoris, who ruled between 734 and 728 B.C. This gives a *terminus post quem* for the tomb, but a closer date can be determined only by a comparative study of the pottery and bronzes associated with the vase, and they seem to point to the late eighth or the early seventh century. The grave belongs to the group of princely tombs like the slightly later Regulini-Galassi at Cære, the Bernardini and Barberini at Præneste and the somewhat earlier chieftains' graves in the circle burials at the Etruscan city of Vetulonia—all of which contain sumptuous objects imported from many places overseas. The richer graves are filled with objects of metal, armor, weapons, great caul-

drons of bronze with griffins' heads, or huge stands for spherical vases, and these were frequently imitated in terra-cotta for those of humbler means.

There is no need to enumerate the contents which have already become so familiar a story, but one cannot too often emphasize the close connection that existed among these cities of south Etruria—Tarquinii, Cære, Veii—which figure in the pages of Livy, and between them and the richer portions of Latium, especially Præneste. Geometric, orientalizing, proto-Corinthian, Corinthian, Attic black-figured and red-figured wares, splendid bronzes, and elaborate jewelry are all illustrated here and suggest an unbroken period of prosperity from about the eighth century onward.

As a counterpoise to the remarkable terra-cotta grave-slabs from Cære, there have been found at Tarquinii some early experiments in low relief in stone that are manifestly imitations of metal work and that belong between 650 and 550 B.C. One is a shield of the rough material called *nenfro*, a most unpromising medium for sculpture, which imitates the designs that are customary around the margins of shields made of bronze, the others are three door-slabs with the subjects arranged in panels like some of the bronzes from Olympia, and representing in the most childish and archaic fashion subjects from Greek mythology, such as Ajax fall-

ing on his sword, a gorgon, and Theseus slaying the Minotaur. As the tomb paintings were inspired by the Greek vases imported into Etruria in such great quantities, so these crude attempts at sculpture were obviously the result of a desire to copy some of the metal work with which the graves are filled.

The *camera* tombs which form the great attraction of Corneto-Tarquinii and which are of surpassing interest to the student of art, of history, and of social customs, belong for the most part to a period posterior to the days of the Tarquins, but the older ones like the *Tomba dei Tori*, the *Tomba degli Auguri*, *Tomba delle Iscrizioni*, and *Tomba del Barone* are not far removed in time from the *Grotto Campana* at Veii or the archaic terracotta slabs from Cære, and may be attributed to the sixth century. They give us a good idea of the kind of sepulchers that must have housed the contemporaries of the last kings of Rome, if not those kings themselves. Greek artisans' marks on the walls of the *Tomba del Barone*—the style of whose paintings is more purely Greek than any other Etruscan tomb—suggest that some of the painters in the train of Damaratus who worked in Italy may have left a school to carry on their traditions, although the Greek custom by which a painter signed his work does not prevail in Etruria.

But besides the Greek element at Tarquinii,

there were other elements which must have been responsible for the introduction and development of the elaborate religious ritual which Tarquinii in turn handed on to Rome. There is nothing Greek in the paraphernalia of divination and augury as described on Italic soil, but one may perhaps believe that the extraordinary predominance of Tarquinii in fresco paintings was due to a larger representation of Greek artists than was usually found in the cities of Etruria, for tradition tells no tale of immigrants coming in numbers to any city besides that which welcomed Damaratus of Corinth.

Thus we find that Livy's account of Etruria in the days of the kings, an account which concerns itself with Veii, Cære, and Tarquinii, fits admirably with what has been discovered on those closely related sites.

Chance has destroyed the dwellings of the gods at Tarquinii and left those of the dead with their varied frescoes, while at Cære there are almost no painted tombs but plentiful examples of gaily colored terra-cottas from the temple, and at Veii, although one painted tomb has been found, the terra-cotta Apollo and his companions have given this city a unique distinction. Each supplies something lacking or poorly represented in the others, and yet the unity of civilization in them is so striking and so clearly marked off from the cities of

north and central Etruria as well as so consistently linked with the other side of the Tiber that we must conclude that this group of cities was well fitted to play the parts assigned them by the historian.

CHAPTER VII

THE EARLY TEMPLES OF LATIUM AND SOUTHERN ETRURIA

CAETO, that stern old moralist with his advocacy of everything simple, reproaches his countrymen for having introduced into their city unholy statues from Syracuse, and laments that too many are lavish in their praise of Corinthian and Athenian decorations while laughing at the terra-cotta statues of the Roman gods. Pliny, too, says that there was no reason to be ashamed of the men who worshiped deities of clay and would not even for their gods change gold and silver into images. But while commending the old statues as "more innocent," he also recognizes their admirable execution, their artistic merits and their durability.

Thanks to the last mentioned of these qualities, we have been enabled to judge their artistic excellences and in the light of recent discoveries to reconstruct a better mental image of how temples of the archaic period were adorned with fictile decorations. Literature has left us statements about

statues in or on particular shrines, Pliny has discussed the development of the art of modeling in clay, Vitruvius has described the characteristic features of different styles of temples, and now through the collections which fill such museums as the Museo di Villa Giulia, we can study at first hand the adornments which graced the dwellings of the gods in the days of the kings, the republic, and the empire.

In speaking of the kings as builders, Livy attributes a respectable showing from Romulus onward, but the most famous and splendid regal monument was the great temple known as that of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, or perhaps more accurately as that of the Capitoline Triad, which dominated the Capitoline hill and must have stood out in striking impressiveness on the huge area which had been leveled to receive it in the days when Tarquinius Priscus had vowed a dedication in the war against the Sabines.

Of the many tales that have survived about this old temple—the large sums of money spent on it, the numbers of workmen employed, the prodigies connected with its building—none is more interesting than the statements about the terra-cotta statues of Jupiter and the chariots on the gables, both of which were attributed to Vulca, the artist, who had been summoned from Veii by Tarquin for the express purpose of making them. In

the light of what has been discovered recently at Veii, it is no wonder that Tarquin fetched his artist from that city.

A few years ago we were dependent chiefly on the literary references and a late coin or two for the supposed appearance of the Capitoline temple, but now the study of early temples in Latium and its vicinity has made it extremely probable that the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus differed more in scale than in style from other sanctuaries, and a further step in our knowledge of this building was taken when it became possible to excavate the foundations of the structure. Any description of the early temples in Rome would be very meager if we had only the Roman remains to help us, since often not even the substructures can be found. A site may be identified because buildings of a later period have been erected on the same spot, but in most cases the later buildings fail to preserve the architectural tradition of their predecessors, and though we are told that the later temples of Jupiter Optimus Maximus retained the exact dimensions of the old foundations, the divergence between the appearance of the temple of Tarquin and those of Sulla and Catulus or of Domitian must have been tremendous.

It is to Dionysius of Halicarnassus that we owe our most complete description of the old temple,

and the features he mentions are those which time had changed the least.

The building rested on a foundation which measured about eight hundred feet around, each side being approximately two hundred feet long, but the length was nearly fifteen feet more than the breadth. Across each end there were three rows of columns, and along the sides one row. Three parallel *cellæ* dedicated to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva were built with walls in common, with one pediment and one roof covering the whole. Dionysius says that the later temples were built on the same foundations and although we know that the style generally called "Tuscan" with three *cellæ* was retained, we must turn to the old temples outside of Rome for further details of construction.

The most adequate study of these early temples is published by Professor Della Seta in his *Guide to the Museum of the Villa Giulia*, and as it is rather long and detailed it may be worth while to summarize the most important points for the benefit of those who do not read Italian.

The so-called Tuscan temple as described by Vitruvius is a more or less canonical type which is the result of a gradual development towards a norm and consists of a tripartite *cella* broader than it is deep, a vestibule the width of the *cella*, exterior columns in line with the *cella* walls with two

others spaced between these, with projecting eaves, and with a wooden entablature and fictile decorations.

The frequent occurrence of actual remains in other places besides Etruria, particularly in Latium and its vicinity, makes the name Italic seem more appropriate than Tuscan. It furnishes one more example of the existence of many non-Etruscan things which formerly had been attributed to the Etruscan immigrants. The plan shows some variation in proportions, and in the earlier examples there were three longish *cellæ* more like those in the Greek temples, which were united with a common vestibule. Just how much these temples owed to Greek prototypes cannot yet be stated, but the affinities of their decorative members with Ionic and other archaic Greek art leads one to believe that this influence was strong.

In contrast, however, to the classical Greek temples is the use of wood and terra-cotta in construction. As a matter of fact, this keeps more closely to the oldest Greek—and even Minoan—tradition than do the temples of the late sixth, fifth, and fourth centuries in Greek lands. The use of sun-dried brick and timber on a stone foundation for walls, and of wooden door-jambs and wooden columns on stone bases, goes back to the palace of Minos, and occurs in the earliest Greek buildings of which we have knowledge. The temple of

Hera at Olympia, whose wooden columns were one by one replaced by stone substitutes constructed in the prevailing style, and whose crude brick walls melted into the soft mud that providentially preserved for us the Hermes of Praxiteles which was imbedded in it; the Olympian treasuries with their wooden entablature encased with terra-cotta decoration; the temples at Thermon with their fickle adornments, are more like the early temples in Italy in structural features than like those on the Athenian Acropolis. It was not until the fourth century that the temples in Italy were built with the *cella* of stone, and even then a wooden superstructure continued to be used. The gable roof was constructed with a ridge beam (*columnen*), lateral beams (*mutuli*) resting on the side walls of the *cella*, cross-beams (*cantherii*) from the *columnen* to the *mutuli* and smaller lateral beams crossing the *cantherii*.

As the upper part was so perishable, we have to depend chiefly on descriptions and on the terra-cotta coverings which cased the wooden parts for a reconstruction of the building.

The periods and geographical distribution of the decorative members agree with what has been observed regarding the industrial objects, namely: that there was a so-called “orientalizing” period in the seventh century followed by the Greek periods of the sixth, fifth, and fourth centuries. That the

fictile decorations were of local manufacture is proved both by the kind of clay used and the fact that moulds have been found on various sites, nevertheless the inspiration is Greek in technique, forms, and subjects. A *lacuna* lasting for about one hundred years after 450 B.C. is synchronous with the deficiency in imported pottery and minor objects to which attention has been already called. Yet in spite of the temporary suspension of contact, the tradition persisted in the shapes of the tiles, cornices, and friezes which keep the same scheme for the distribution of the elements; in the decorative motives of palmettes and buds which change details of shape while continuing as subjects; and in the convention of using red paint for the flesh parts of men and white for women.

Three periods have been distinguished:

- (1) the Ionic (c. 550-510) which passes into
- (2) the Archaic (510-450) separated by a long interval from

- (3) the Hellenistic (c. 330-200 B.C.).

The principal differences are in the kind of clay used, the colors, the part of the temple decorated, the subjects represented, and the shapes of the terra-cottas.

The first period and the beginning of the second fall within the time of the kings, for we can scarcely make an arbitrary line at 509 when the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus was dedi-

cated, and rule out the terra-cottas of the very close of the sixth century, particularly as the transition between the first and second periods was gradual.

In the first period the clay which contains some volcanic material is reddish and hard, the colors (which were applied before firing) were white, black, red, blue, and violet-maroon, and the decorations were placed mostly on terminal tiles and frieze-slabs. The tiles of the pediment consist of a large molding or *torus*, with flame decoration, above which comes a high band or *fascia* on which are depicted scenes in relief, and above that is a zone of parallel tongues curving forward, with a small *torus* decorated with cable pattern separating it from the broad *fascia*. Clamps and nails were used to fasten the tiles and the designs were arranged with rights and lefts up to the gable top.

Above came a perforated border (grille), while the horizontal cornice on the side of the building consisted of rows of tongues. No *antefixæ* could therefore have been used on the same building, though they did occur on other structures, but *acroteria* were commonly placed on the three corners of the pediment.

On the frieze-slabs three similar bands were arranged, the two upper zones being separated by a convex *fascia* with scales or by a plain *fascia* with meander. These slabs were nailed to the

entablature as is proved by the nail-holes in the slabs.

The most common subjects represented in the reliefs are horses (sometimes winged), chariots with ladies and warriors, banquets, and combats. Although certain features of the costume, such for example as pointed shoes, or attributes like the *lituus*, are distinctively Etruscan, they are also characteristic of Ionic art and this resemblance is probably due to a common source. Similar subjects are found on other Greek monuments which are diverse in purpose but contemporary in date, such as the sarcophagi from Clazomenæ, the Corinthian and Attic-Corinthian pottery, Ionic rings with elliptical bezels, as well as on Etruscan *bucchero* vases with relief decoration. The subjects seem chosen for their decorative value, except when necessary for a special cult, and the striking resemblance between the Italic friezes and those from temples in Asia Minor is a further argument for a common origin.

In the following period a lighter-colored clay is employed, while the most common colors for the decorative patterns are red, black, and white. Terra-cotta was extensively used, many additional portions of the building, such as the gable beams, the ends of the *columina* and *mutuli*, the exterior frieze on the sides, and possibly the interior beams of the vestibule and the *cella* walls, being covered

with slabs decorated in relief or with painted designs. There is, however, no evidence of the use of pedimental figures before the fourth century. An additional feature was the curtain or fringe-like border fastened with lead clamps to the tiles of the eaves, on which the terminal tiles with *antefixæ* rested.

But while the more strictly architectural features were modified chiefly in details, there is a great change in the subjects represented on the building. Scenes with horses and combats continued popular, but the banquets went out of style and subjects chosen from Greek mythology became the special favorites of this period. On the *antefixæ* gorgons, satyrs and mænads, harpies and sirens, Typhon, the Persian Artemis, and the distinctively Latin Juno Sospita occur with frequency, the satyrs and mænads being most popular of all. Whether these subjects were chosen for their apotropaic or æsthetic merit is not easy to decide, but this second period of ripe archaism with its representative examples of conventionality, freedom, and also a transitional phase of equilibrium between the two tendencies, shows the development of more than half a century and derives its inspiration from Greece although modified locally. The plant motives of palmette and bud become stylized, the lines of ornament are vertical or horizontal in accord with architectonic stability, and it is only on

the unessential non-structural parts like the *acroteria* that the greatest vivacity tending to realism forms a contrast to the idealism which distinguished Greek art of the same period. This freedom of expression may be the result of working in plastic clay instead of in hard stone, so that it outstrips the progress made in the contemporary arts of sculpture and even of painting in which the necessary firmness and sureness of line could only come as the result of much practice.

For Greek lands we have no evidence of experiments in clay as prototypes for works on a large scale. The tradition for sculpture was wood, poros-stone, marble, and bronze, but in one early work—a Minoan bronze statuette of a praying woman—belonging to about 1600 B.C., and one late group—the marble statues made by Damophon of Messene for the temple at Lycosura in the second century B.C.—the sketchiness and vigorous freedom which one associates with a clay model are clearly suggested. In the great days of Greek art, clay was used for models, but we hear nothing of the terracotta figures like those with which we have become familiar on Etruscan sarcophagi or the decorative elements of Italic temples, and it is only in the little votive statuettes or occasionally through decorative figures that we know what the Greek workers in clay were producing.

And yet the invention of modeling in clay for

portraits, for tile-ends, or for gable decoration, in high or low relief or even in the round, was attributed specially to certain Greek artists some of whom were said to have made works associated with the early days of Rome, such as those in the temple of Ceres which was dedicated at the beginning of the fifth century.

The description of the development and characteristics of the Italic temples given above has been based on an examination of the actual débris of temples in and near Latium. Although the foundations of these buildings are generally in a very fragmentary state, enough remain to justify the conclusion that they were not all built according to universally accepted proportions.

When we turn once more to the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitoline, we find that there are still extant a good part of the foundations and even an *antefix* (or two?). Certainly, the saying that it is an ill wind that blows nobody any good has been well illustrated by the fate of the Capitoline hill. For years past it has been more than tantalizing to have the remains of that great temple buried beneath the German Embassy on what was technically foreign soil, and one of the prompt actions of the Italian government after the war was the seizure of the Palazzo Caffarelli and the demolition of what was necessary for carrying on of investigations. The southeast angle

which had been found in 1875 consisted of nineteen courses measuring 6.20 m. in height; the southwest and northeast angles have now been identified, and part of the north front and the east wall of the stylobate are still preserved. The dimensions, 61.42 m. by 56.98 m., correspond very closely to the figures of Dionysius already mentioned, and the small blocks of grayish tufa are appropriate for the earliest structure. As the dimensions were said to have continued unaltered, the foundations might from their size be attributed to reconstructions, but it is improbable that either Sulla or Domitian would have built substructures of such material. Although many of the blocks were removed in the Middle Ages, the lower courses are still undisturbed to a considerable extent. They are laid up in irregular courses without mortar. Near the northwest corner of the platform was a well lined with *peperino* slabs, with footholds leading to underground galleries. In the well were found the fingerless hand of a fictile statue and a fragment of revetment with vertical strigilature in red and black, probably from early decorations of the temple.

A short distance to the southeast is an angle of a substructure belonging obviously to a public building, but one which cannot be identified with the temple of any of the gods who were ejected by Tarquin's operations. Several important frag-

ments of architectural terra-cottas were particularly welcome in view of their scarcity hitherto.

Architectural members, *acroteria*, *antefixæ*, and slabs belonging to the sixth and fifth centuries are fairly well represented in Rome, about two dozen having been found on the Palatine, the Capitoline, and in the Forum, and there are a few others of unknown provenance. Half of these have come from the Palatine, chiefly in the neighborhood of the *Scalæ Caci*, and have already been mentioned in connection with the early temple that existed there. Those in the Forum were found near the west end and may have fallen from the Capitoline, since there seem to have been no very early temples in the Forum itself. The provenance of two in the Museo dei Conservatori is not stated, but one famous *antefix* with a female head came from the Aracœli, while a fragmentary *acroterion* in the form of a palmette which was found in the Via di Monte Tarpeo was part of the early decoration of the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus itself.

The foundation blocks and the shattered remains of one of the ornaments from the roof are but little on which to build a restoration of the temple, and it is fortunate that we can turn to Greek and Roman writers for further information about the fictile decorations.

Pliny is our principal informant about the statue of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, said by Varro to

have been the work of Vulca of Veii. It was of clay painted red, thus following the usual convention for representing the flesh parts of male figures, and we should naturally think of it as the copper-colored hue familiar on Etruscan monuments were it not for the statement that the statue was painted every year with minium, which must have given an extraordinarily gaudy effect. Since both Ovid and Juvenal speak of the terra-cotta statue, the early cult image was evidently preserved long after the temple which had housed it had been remodeled in accordance with the taste of later generations.

On the gables stood the terra-cotta four-horse chariot which was said to have foretold the future greatness of Rome by expanding instead of contracting in the furnace. Plutarch, in his life of Poplicola, describes the reluctance of the people of Veii to part with the chariots which they had made at the order of Tarquin, who, however, had been exiled before the statues were completed. Arguing that the quadriga belonged to the exiled king rather than to his Roman enemies, and believing also that its possession prognosticated success, they refused to deliver it until warned by a catastrophe during their chariot-races, when the horses of the victorious charioteer ran away with him to Rome and threw him out near the Capitol. Neither of

the Tarquins was able to dedicate the temple, a ceremony which was performed by the consul Horatius, and the terra-cotta chariots were replaced in 296 B.C. by a Jupiter with a quadriga apparently of bronze. The original chariots were probably the *acroteria* at the sides of the temple, since we hear that a clay figure of Summanus on the *fastigium* of the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus was struck by lightning, as was also a Centaur *in Capitolio*, and these were presumably the central *acroteria* at each end of the building. Summanus was so minor a deity that his presence could give no offense to the greatest of the gods, and with this single exception there were no representations of deities on the roofs of temples in the earliest period. This practice coincides admirably with what has been noted about representing vivacious figures on the non-structural members of the building only. It would never have done to depict the great gods as perched temporarily on the peaks of their dwellings; their place was within the temple and we shall not err in believing that the statues of Jupiter and the "clay Hercules" also attributed to Vulca were cult statues.

From the traditions regarding the origin of art in Rome and Italy, three outstanding points may be emphasized: the part played by the Tarquins in the building of the great temple, the introduction

of the art of modeling in clay by the Corinthian ancestors of the Tarquinii, and the employment of artists from Veii for the most prominent statues.

The villainy of the second Tarquin has naturally overshadowed the other qualities of the family, so that we are not always predisposed to recognize the substantial achievements during their reigns, while the story of the rise of Tarquinius Priscus has become synonymous with the rewards of ambition. But the Tarquins were not so self-made after all. Damaratus, the father of Lucumo, whom we know better as Tarquin the First, was a man of wealth and importance who left his own country for political reasons and not merely to seek his fortune. The story of the three potters whom he brought with him suggests that they may have been the master-workmen in a well-established business in his native Corinth, the activities of which were transferred to Etruria. Whether or no we accept the recently propounded theory that most of the early tyrannies, Greek or Roman, were based on wealth, Damaratus was presumably a good match for the Etruscan lady whom he married. It has been the fashion to regard the names of the potters, Eucheir, Diopos, and Eugrammos, as fictitious, since they stand for qualities which were eminently desirable in their craft, but as we know that proper names derived from trades or crafts have been popular in ancient as

well as in modern times, it appears illogical to deny the equivalent of the Smiths or Taylors of our own day.

The exact names of the artists are matters of no consequence, but the statement that they were from Corinth connects them with the city one of whose claims to fame was the invention of roof tiles, with the consequent possibility of gable roofs in place of the flat roofs of earlier times. The literal acceptance of this statement would be absurd, for we know that pitched roofs were used over a widespread area in early times and their invention can scarcely be the inspiration of a single city; but whether the Corinthians invented tiles or not, we are sure that they were famous for their works in clay, such as tiles, decorative slabs, and vases.

The importance of Corinth as a great industrial and commercial city in the seventh century, famous especially for its pottery, needs no demonstration here, for it is one of the facts most securely established by archaeology, and it was the widespread fame of the Corinthian vases that gave rise to the tradition that the potter's wheel was invented by a Corinthian. Of course, it had been invented hundreds of years earlier, but that in no way detracts from the interest of a little Corinthian votive terra-cotta tablet which represents the potter at his wheel. This distinctive ware, characterized by its decorations of an "oriental" style, reached its

height in the middle of the seventh century just at the time when Cypselus became tyrant and drove out the Bacchiadæ, to which aristocratic clan Damaratus belonged, and the enormous number of vases discovered in the tombs of Etruria and to a lesser extent in Latium proves that contact was firmly established between these countries for a period extending over many years.

But in addition to the vases, the fictile decorations from Corinth were distinctive and seem to have been fairly widely distributed and imitated. Particularly interesting are the very abundant examples of architectural members from the Corinthian colony of Syracuse, where excavations in the precinct of Athena have unearthed a rich collection, including a painted slab in relief of Medusa with the little horse Pegasus, which is strikingly similar to the central figure of the poros pedimental decoration at Corfu, another Corinthian colony. Terra-cotta revetments of the archaic period have been found in other cities of Magna Græcia, and it is possible that the art of manufacturing them reached Etruria by this route. No literary evidence suggests how Damaratus and his followers reached Etruria from Corinth.

It has been pointed out that these artists who were credited with the introduction of modeling into Italy probably did not make statues in the round, for otherwise Tarquin would not have

needed to summon Vulca from Veii to make the Capitoline figures.

Although Veii's reputation for statues was firmly established, the reality has far surpassed what might have been expected from the descriptions.

The story of the excavations inaugurated in 1913 at Veii, which resulted in the discovery of a temple foundation on a terrace precinct that must have been in use from Etruscan to Roman times, has been told in the chapter on the Etruscan towns, but the fame of the terra-cotta statues discovered in the spring of 1916 has spread rapidly and every student of antiquity will wish to see them for himself. No visitor to the Villa Giulia Museum can fail to be impressed by the splendid figure of Apollo which strides forth to meet him as he enters the new wing of the building. The god seems to hasten with a message of welcome and his charm immediately entices one into the museum in search of the secret of the development of an art which can have culminated in such a masterpiece.

Apollo and his fragmentary companions are the first life-sized terra-cottas of the archaic period—except for the figures on the sepulchral monuments—that have been discovered in Italy, and they not only show how close was the resemblance to Ionic art, but they suggest the kind of statues which belonged to the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus. Whether considered from the point of

view of artistic development or of historical value, they repay the closest study.

The principal statues are Apollo, a life-sized figure advancing with rapid stride; the lower part of a statue representing a hind held captive by a man of whom hardly more than the feet are preserved, but the fragmentary lion's skin that he wore shows him to have been Hercules; a head identified as Hermes, and part of a body which apparently belonged with the head; other fragments of drapery, and the white hand of a woman. Obviously, these formed a group of a contest for a hind, a subject represented so frequently on Attic black-figured vases as well as on a relief in bronze and a relief in marble, that a reconstruction with Apollo and Hercules as the central figures and Artemis and Hermes to right and left has been made possible.

This group was probably a votive offering of the kind already familiar at Olympia or Delphi, since figures of equal proportions would have been impossible in a pediment and we know that terracotta pedimental statues did not come into use until a later date.

But it is in relation to the Capitoline Jupiter that the statues particularly concern us, for from them we can learn the style and technical usages that enable us to conclude what the appearance of that statue must have been.

As the Apollo is the only practically complete figure, a description of this will suffice, supplemented when necessary by additional details from the other fragments. The god advances with rapid motion, stooping forward a little. He is clad in a short chiton reaching to the knees, with a double stripe of reddish-purple forming the border around neck and hem, over which a himation hangs down his back. His legs and feet are bare, his arms broken below the shoulders. His hair, which is bound by a fillet, has scallopy curls on the forehead, a series of ridged masses over the crown, and long curly locks falling down his back. These are neatly divided into a central group of five, with two others on each side that rest on the shoulder before falling backward. The use of color is very interesting: the flesh reddish-brown, the hair black, the eyeballs white with reddish iris and black pupils. The clay is well worked and the statue made in one piece with a large oval hole in the back between the shoulder-blades for convenience in baking. The figure stands on a plinth and is balanced by a support decorated with two volutes in relief, forming a lyre-shaped ornament enclosing a palmette colored red and blue-black, which extends to the lower part of the drapery.

The other best preserved fragment is a head identified as Hermes by the winged hat he wears. This is a conical cap with rolling brim and small

wings decorated with a scale pattern. The same stylized curls on the forehead and locks on the shoulders cause a striking resemblance between this head and Apollo's, but in spite of archaic conventions in the treatment of the eyes and mouth with their typically Ionic almond shape and pleasant smile there is a distinct individuality of expression in each face, Hermes having a roguish look and a more dimpled chin than his brother.

Although these works show undoubtedly Ionic characteristics both in style and in the palmette-volute supports which resemble the decorations on grave monuments from Asia Minor, it would be out of place to attempt to enter into a detailed discussion of relationships here. The extraordinary vigor and sinewy energy of the statues is far removed from "Ionic softness," but combines in an astonishing degree the severity of archaism and a technical mastery which we do not find so early in statues made of stone. The fine details, the effect of tenseness and of keenness, result from a most accurate observation of nature, while the variety in the treatment of the drapery with its fine, flat folds, its cascading borders, its clinging to the athletic body, and its extraordinary beauty and freedom of line, achieved particularly on the left side as it follows the contours beneath it and aids the effect of rapid motion, are, in their way, as beautiful and successful as the most sophisticated treat-

ment of the drapery of Greek statues of fifty or one hundred years later.

As already suggested, this freedom and vivacity is undoubtedly due to the material of which the statue is made. The sharpness of outline in the eyelids and mouth suggest a technique appropriate to a bronze statue, but this by no means implies that the artist was translating into clay a bronze work familiar to him. It is, however, interesting to see that Pliny attributes to the early Corinthian modelers in clay, achievements in three lines, namely, relief, *antefix* heads and the casting of bronze from a clay model.

But a work like the Apollo cannot have been a mere model. In itself it is a triumph of artistic skill and shows extraordinary success in overcoming the mechanical and material difficulties of firing so large a work, and points to a long experience in the potter's craft.

There is every indication that the statue was made in Italy, but whether it was the work of Ionian artists who had migrated to Etruria, or of native artists who had been trained under these masters, it is impossible to say. There must have been many fictile statues at one time and it is more than good fortune that the survivors are such supreme achievements in this field. Almost the only other example is a small head from Satricum, a few years later in date, which may have belonged

to a statue of Jupiter. It has stylized curls on the forehead, and hair which falls in a mass down the back, bound by a narrow fillet from ear to ear. It has the same sharpness of modeling about the eyelids, eyebrows, and lips as the Apollo, but the conventional beard and drooping mustache so modify the appearance of the lower part of the face as to detract from the resemblance. It helps, however, to suggest what may have been the appearance of the Jupiter Capitolinus, for the expression is one of dignity and benevolence suitable to a statue which continued to be held in reverence throughout so many centuries.

The old temple, with the occasional addition of a few embellishments, continued in use until its destruction by fire in 83 B.C. A coin, dated five years earlier, preserves for us some further details of its appearance, particularly three doors, presumably made of bronze, which closed the entrances, but amidst the forest of offerings, shrines, and statues which filled the area or terrace that was built in the middle of the fourth century, a great structure which Pliny characterizes as "insane," the dominating building, center and head of the Roman worship, must have stood out because of its comparative simplicity, sheltering the ancient statue which tradition and religious conservatism had retained as sacred.

Likewise, in Athens there was preserved—not

in the Parthenon but in the Erechtheum which stood on the site of perhaps the oldest shrine on the Acropolis—the very ancient statue of Athena Polias, made of olive wood and described in literature as of such excessive antiquity that it must have been set up by the aborigines or Cecrops or Erechtheus. This was a primitive statue of the type known as *dædalic*, a crude image almost like the trunk of a tree in shape.

Although it may seem a little suspicious that such definite traditions of the old cult-statues of the patron deities of the Athenians and the Romans have come down to us, it has recently been shown that the legends of the early sculptor Dædalus and his school, with their connections reaching from Crete through the Peloponnesus and up into northern Greece, can be substantiated by the actual statues found at places that seem almost to make milestones on their route, while the discoveries at Veii have demonstrated the existence of a flourishing school of sculptors, and it needs no stretch of the imagination to believe that Vulca was one of its ablest representatives.

CHAPTER VIII

MUSEUMS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE PREHISTORIC PERIOD

THE reader who has been courageous enough to follow the story of Rome as set forth in these chapters or who has traced the progress of the Romans across the Campagna and into Etruria, sometimes along the straight roads leading from city to city, other times across the country up hill and down dale, and who by this time has taught his mind and eyes to expect to find settlements on the strategic elevations above the plain or along the highways of trade, has doubtless often asked himself what has become of the innumerable objects discovered on the sites that have been mentioned. At Veii or Satricum, or Antemnæ, for example, the visitor may see not only the setting for the events described by Livy, but also the empty shell from which have been taken countless movable objects of the Iron Age, or earlier. The city walls, the temple ruins, the house foundations, the empty tombs, stand deserted most of the time, and it is but seldom that one finds

portable objects left in place as they have been left in the new excavations at Pompeii.

The frescoes on the walls of the tombs may still be visited, large and heavy stone monuments like grave *cippi* or sarcophagi sometimes remain in their original position, but the traveller who is unable to visit the ancient cities we have mentioned is, nevertheless, able to gain an excellent idea of the civilization that existed on the sites by studying their contents in the various museums.

To describe satisfactorily the principal objects of interest in the museums or even to emphasize adequately the most important characteristics of each is no simple task, for one is at the same time bewildered by the enormous mass of material and handicapped by the insufficient publication of it in anything besides learned and not always accessible periodicals. This is particularly true of material belonging to the prehistoric periods, since the overwhelming quantities of primitive hand-made pottery that has a striking family resemblance—however valuable this similarity may be from the historical point of view when tracing connections and relationships between peoples in various localities—results in endless and wearisome repetition, while the detailed descriptions are more than any but the most enthusiastic specialist has the courage to read. An inventory of such articles is far less varied than a dictionary,

and it is no wonder that almost no curators of the museums have cared to publish such a work. There is, however, a middle ground between this and the bare mention one finds in Baedeker, and in the cases of two or three museums the *Guides* are excellent. Such model *Guides* as those of the British Museum or of the Classical Collection in the Metropolitan Museum would perhaps be almost impossible in the case of the prehistoric collections of Italy and there would be little demand for them, but the experiment might be worth trying, since the number of people who are taking an intelligent interest in the subject, while not pretending to be specialists, is rapidly increasing. The standard work on the subject for Rome is still Helbig's *Führer*, a book which is solid and informing rather than interesting and which needs bringing up to date in accord with the new arrangement of some of the collections. For the Villa Giulia collection Professor Della Seta's recent *Guida* is indispensable, for Florence, Milani's *Museo Archeologico*, and for Bologna, Ducati's *Guida del Museo Civico* are most valuable, but no translations of these books have been made. The Guide Books of the Touring Club Italiano contain excellent brief descriptions of the museums in all the cities, large or small, in the districts already published, but this useful information is inaccessible except to those who read Italian.

Besides the difficulty about handbooks, there are other obstacles in the way of the student. In most instances the collections are arranged in an orderly and logical fashion and adequately labeled, but sometimes they are confused, and the cases are so overcrowded as to be unintelligible to the ordinary visitor. Sometimes, as in the Museo Preistorico in Rome, the rooms are so badly lighted and the reflection from the glass of the cases is so annoying that it is almost impossible to study the contents, or the custodians are so loath to have their chess-tournaments interrupted that they make it as uncomfortable as possible for all comers and follow one about, muttering and grumbling and being greatly annoyed by the presumptuous person who desires to take notes to supplement the inadequate information in the Helbig. But this is exceptional, since the *custodes* in most museums are courteous and many of them are extremely intelligent men who often have taken part in excavating the objects entrusted to their care.

With these preliminary considerations, let us turn to some of the museums which contain objects from the places mentioned in Livy's book dealing with the regal period—especially those of Latium and south Etruria, though something must be added about the collections in Venetia, the Italian home of Antenor, and in Bologna, the native heath of the Villanovan civilization.

The obvious place at which to begin is the Museo Preistorico in the Collegio Romano in Rome. On the top floor of the building a long series of twenty or more rooms houses a collection which extends in time from the Stone to the Bronze Age and in space from the Alps to Sicily and the other islands off the coast. This makes it very valuable for purposes of comparative study of different local developments, affording the opportunity for a preliminary knowledge of the various types before coming into contact with them in their own districts, or serving as a fairly satisfactory substitute for those who do not visit the local museums.

The Stone Age is represented chiefly by objects from the extreme north or extreme south of Italy; typical discoveries from the Bronze Age *palafitte* and *terremare* of Lombardy, Emilia, and Venetia fill several rooms, but for the latter part of the Bronze Age and the Iron Age examples from Latium include celts, bronze bowls decorated with knobs or deers' heads, huge brooches, simple handmade cups, and all the usual grave furnishings characteristic of the transitional time and the days when iron was but sparingly used. With the fully developed Iron Age the amount of material becomes more plentiful and an entire room is devoted to characteristic examples from northern Italy. It begins with the region associated with

Antenor in the eastern part of northern Italy and works westward. From Santa Lucia there is a typical *situla*¹ from Este and Veneto are Villanovan urns adorned with cable-patterns, chevrons, triangles, and reticulated designs, cordoned vases of alternating red and black zones that imitate the metal work so distinctive of their area; Golasecca (near Milan) is characterized by globular vases decorated with lattice-patterns painted in black on the light clay ground, and in the center of the room there is also from Golasecca a cist grave made of thick stone slabs and still containing all the objects that were discovered in it. From farther west in the Ticino region there are gray vases decorated with herring-bone or reticulated designs either in black glaze or incised on the clay.

Moving on to the remains from central Italy, one finds Villanovan urns with the usual geometric decorations, and there is also a great fondness for imitating metal vases and cups with sharply defined outlines and high handles, particularly in the *bucchero* ware. The most striking impression one gains is the general similarity between the discoveries at the sites in western Etruria, for example, Cære and Tarquinii, and those in Latium however they may differ in minor details.

For the Villanovan or *pozzo* period in Latium

¹ A selection of objects from Santa Lucia has been placed in the recently opened Palazzo Veneziano.

the remains are remarkably homogeneous; the ashes are placed in hut-urns or jars of simple shapes, with little hand-made accessory vases of rough *impasto*, while crescent-shaped handles and triple vases continue the tradition of the Bronze Age, as does the familiar reticulated pattern in relief. There are almost no weapons and the personal adornments consist of simple *fibulæ*, hairpins, and little pieces of amber and bone used to decorate the *fibulæ*, or as beads. The most striking differences between Latium and Etruria in this period are the rare occurrence or even absence of the Villanovan urn south of the Tiber in contrast to its universal use on the other side, the non-occurrence of the terra-cotta helmets for urn-lids, the comparatively rarer incised ornamentation, the greater poverty of Latium in weapons, in bronze objects, and in personal adornments and precious metals. There seems no evidence for foreign commerce in Latium until the seventh century, although the transition to the *fossa* tomb had taken place before that date.

In the fully developed *fossæ* from the end of the eighth to the sixth centuries Greek geometric proto-Corinthian, Corinthian, and other early wares give evidence of foreign trade. Glass beads and small figurines of Egyptian faience were used as pendants and a great development of local *bucchero* ware took place in the seventh century,

as did local imitations of geometric vases especially with lattice-work patterns in red on a buff ground, while clay imitations of the elaborate bronzes of Etruria are extremely plentiful.

Although the Corinthian and Ionic wares were represented in Latium in the seventh century, there is practically none of the Attic black-figured pottery, but a *lacuna* exists until the end of the fourth century, exactly what we have been led to expect from the accounts of the struggles of the early republic for its mere existence and the subsequent interruption of its activity in foreign trade.

From the graves of the Alban Hills, from Veii, from Cære, and most of the places whose names are already familiar, have been gathered countless witnesses to the large population and widespread activity of the old cities that had become little more than a name in Livy's day, but which have at last awokened from their long sleep to tell us something of their forgotten makers.

Dead or even dismal though this museum may seem, it has revealed to us secrets hidden from men of former times and given a glimpse of the material existence of those about whose thoughts and views we still remain in ignorance through lack of written records.

Rather out of place in this prehistoric museum is the collection from the Bernardini tomb at Prænesto to which reference has so often been made.

The Barberini collection is in the Villa Giulia, and though it would be interesting to have them together for comparative study, the Bernardini collection has never been moved there.

The other museums of Rome contain relatively little material representative of the prehistoric period. On the ground floor of the Conservatori palace in the Room of the Sarcophagi, are two early graves from the Esquiline and Quirinal. The dead were placed in coffin-like receptacles of tufa roughly constructed without mortar. In the corridor upstairs are the contents of other graves from these cemeteries consisting of the usual hut-urns and pottery, simple tripods, vessels, *fibulæ*, and bronze weapons. The striking fact about them is their poverty; there is scarcely any amber, glass, or precious metals, and they are almost entirely lacking in vases of Greek origin. In a case at the back contemporary finds from Albano have been placed for comparative study.

A great many additional objects must have been discovered in the hundreds of graves on the Esquiline, but there is no record of them in any other collection.

In the Antiquarium there are a few pre-classical things from the city of Rome, while the Museo Nazionale contains little early material except a few architectural terra-cottas.

Nearly everything in the Museo Gregoriano or

Etrusco of the Vatican was found in Etruria and not in Latium. The three early examples of Corinthian pottery from Vulci and Cære are the oldest objects in the collection except three early bronze vases—a Villanovan urn and two amphoræ—made of pieces of bronze riveted together and belonging to the eighth or seventh century. The collection includes the sumptuous objects from the Regulini-Galassi tomb at Cære which belongs to the middle of the seventh century, and objects of later date found mostly in the *camera* tombs. The Regulini-Galassi tomb has so often been mentioned as one of the great princely burial places which bear witness to the extraordinarily rich tastes of their owners that could be satisfied only by the importation of all the luxuries of the time, that there is no need to describe its contents here. The museum is particularly famous for the many examples of signed vases of the Attic black-figured and red-figured styles. It contains a number of copies of the frescoes from the walls of the *camera* tombs, including the François tomb at Vulci with Cæles Vibenna and Mastarna.

Generally speaking, the outstanding lesson to be learned from the Museo di Villa Giulia is the close resemblance between the early civilization of Latium and its neighbors across the Tiber, particularly the *Ager Faliscus* and *Ager* of Capena, and its kinship, too, to the culture of the great

cities of southern Etruria, Veii, Cære, and Tarquinii. This point has often been emphasized in our discussion and need only be stressed here because of the impression made by the cumulative evidence in the museum. We must come to regard the lower Tiber valley as more or less of a unit, despite the early agreement between Romans and Etruscans to recognize the river as their political boundary.

The evidence of language points in the same direction, for the Faliscan is the dialect most nearly related to the Latin, and the recent researches have demonstrated the probability that an Italic language continued to be spoken by most of the people in southern Etruria even when under the sway of princes of an invading race.

Religious cults form another important mass of evidence in favor of the essential kinship, since it has been shown that a very large number of the most tenacious and persistent cults in the Etruscan cities belong to a pre-Etruscan stratum of old Italic divinities.

This religious phenomenon seems to hold true of northern Etruria as well as of southern; it is nevertheless apparent that the civilization of the south-eastern portion of Etruria is more akin to that of Latium, and that the great cities near the coast and the mines exhibit characteristic features which are due to greater wealth, commercial activity,

and accessibility to foreign influences and invasions, and they doubtless had a far larger proportion of inhabitants who were immigrant Etruscans. The relatively modest finds from the southeastern portion form a contrast to the contents of the great fortified strongholds with their splendid painted *camera* tombs and elaborate sarcophagi and wealth of gorgeous furnishings, and they suggest what the civilization of Etruria might have remained had it not been for the infusion of new stock from overseas.

The discoveries from most of the large Etruscan cities are now in the Museo Archeologico at Florence, and there will be an opportunity to describe them later, but the Villa Giulia contains pre-Roman antiquities from all of Latium and the region on the right bank of the lower Tiber. Formerly, all such objects were gathered into the Museo Preistorico, but since the organization of the Villa Giulia a division has been made, and the contents of the Villa may perhaps best be characterized as proto-historic, since the limitation of the territory from which it draws its material has automatically restricted it in time as well—that is to say, to the early Iron Age. There is, of course, a certain amount of overlapping and duplication between the Museo Preistorico and the Villa Giulia, but relatively speaking the discoveries of the Stone or Bronze Ages in this district are few,

and although we have already spoken of plentiful finds belonging to the early Iron Age from Latium in the Museo Preistorico, they indicate the innumerable localities in which that phase of development had been reached, while in the Villa Giulia the sites are fewer, but they have been done more thoroughly and recorded with greater care and system.

Since the present arrangement of the Villa Giulia was begun in 1912 and the latest Baedeker is dated 1909, and since the admirable *Guide* of 1918 is in Italian and there is no English account of the collection, it may be worth while to describe the museum rather fully, although the discussion of the Italic temples has already drawn heavily on the excellent account given by Professor Della Seta.

The collection is housed in a charming villa built by Pope Julius III, about a mile outside the Porta del Popolo, a villa which is typical of the taste of the Renaissance architects during the early barocco period before the fondness for ornate decorations had run riot. The casino itself is a two-story building facing west and flanked by small wings, while the inner façade follows a semi-circular plan and the crescent-shaped colonnade opens upon a delightful garden laid out in formal flower beds and containing a Nymphæum and second garden court beyond. To the south another

garden contains a reconstruction of the temple at Alatri, brilliant with its terra-cotta decorations, and recently there has been built an entire series of exhibition rooms along the south edge of the property. The paintings and decorative ornamentation in stucco or fresco add to the attractiveness of the building which makes an interesting contrast to the antiquities that form the collection.

The area from which the objects have been assembled represents three different civilizations: the Umbrian, the Etruscan, and the Latin, as well as showing the transitional phases from one to another, since the Sabine is considered by Della Seta to be a link between Umbrian and Latin, while the Faliscan connects the Latin and the Etruscan.

It may be a trifle unsafe to assign definite racial names, since not all districts or periods are equally well represented, but we are on firm ground when pointing out as the three most characteristic features of the museum the antiquities from the Faliscan cemeteries, the architectural terra-cottas of the Faliscan and Latin territories, and the objects from the tombs of Præneste. It is thus possible to trace the artistic and industrial development from the seventh to the third or second centuries, a development determined in its essential features by foreign influences which overlaid the earlier indigenous civilization of the *pozzo* period.

The general summary of this development takes us back over ground already familiar from what has been said about Latium, but which may briefly be recapitulated here before going on to the description of particular districts.

We find the seventh century similarly characterized by its orientalizing tendencies, its importation of objects and local imitations of them; in the sixth century are the more distinctly Greek importations, especially Attic vases and plentiful local reproductions of them, perhaps by Greek artists resident in Italy; as in Latium, here too we find a falling-off in importations from about the middle of the fifth to the middle of the fourth centuries, but a renewed activity begins about 350 B.C. and continues for more than a century, particularly as a period of local imitation of the more florid Greek styles. This has already been noted in connection with the architectural terra-cottas, and it can hardly be a mere coincidence that the interruption of intercourse has been so general in the district of central Italy.

The collection of minor objects from the cemeteries is on the first floor, and the architectural terra-cottas and other material from the neighborhood of the temples in the newer rooms on the ground floor.

The *Ager Faliscus* is the name given to the country extending from the east side of the Lago

di Vico fanwise to the Tiber, touching at its most northerly point the course of the river which flows between Orte and Otricoli, and on the south the river opposite Mt. Soracte. Its inhabitants were therefore situated between the Etruscans to the north and west, the Umbrians to the east, and the Capenates (a Latin people) to the south; consequently, there is some difference of opinion as to whether they were Etruscanized Latins or Latinized Etruscans. The remains which have been found show close affinities with both Latin and Etruscan civilizations, with the typical three kinds of tombs. The familiar tale of *pozzi* with hand-made *impasto*, lenticular, or Villanovan urns with saucer-covers and incised decorations, and sparing use of bronze for weapons or ornaments, followed by *fossæ*, sometimes with tree-trunk burials, wheel-made pottery decorated with geometric or animal designs, either painted with light on dark or dark on light or done in delicate *graffiti*, black *bucchero*, Italo-geometric, proto-Corinthian, or Corinthian imported wares, plentiful utensils and ornaments of bronze, abundant gold jewelry, often adorned with exquisite granulated work, frequent use of amber, glass-paste, and enamel is repeated here. In the earlier part of the *camera* period there was much Attic black-figured and red-figured ware and plentiful bronze vases, mirrors, candelabra, etc., although gold jewelry is rarely found, possi-

bly because the tombs may have been plundered, but after a long interval there comes a period of local imitations of late Attic ware in which the Greek myths are often incorrectly or ignorantly represented, while terra-cotta copies of bronze objects become frequent, and there is jewelry of a poor sort. A characteristic of the tombs which runs through all three periods is the fondness for *loculi* at the sides.

The principal city in this district is Falerii Veteres where the cemeteries extended in all directions around the city, the most important of which were Montarano and Celle to the northeast, and Penna and Valsiarosa to the southwest. Falerii was captured by the Romans in 241 B.C., thus bringing to a close an occupation which had begun in about the ninth or eighth century. The contents of these graves fill six rooms and are arranged both topographically and chronologically; in order, therefore, not to repeat what has been said in the general summary, attention will be called only to a few particularly interesting objects.

From the *pozzo* tombs there are a brooch and a razor of iron, together with the more plentiful bronze objects, but the most striking innovation is a large crested helmet of terra-cotta used as the cover for a cinerary urn, a fashion which does not occur on the other side of the Tiber but which finds parallels at Tarquinii and Veii.

The earlier *fossæ* contain articles resembling those of the *pozzo* tombs, but a beginning in the use of precious metals is illustrated by a little *fibula* wound with a thread of gold, a use which has been observed also at Narce, Veii, Tarquinii, and Vetulonia, as well as in Greece. In the later *fossæ* the imported objects become very plentiful and the contents are so much like those from the *camera* tombs that both were evidently in use at the same time, while the further developed *cameræ* furnish innumerable examples of rich importations and a lavish use of bronze for great caldrons and repoussé vases set on tripods. One cinerary urn of bronze is made in imitation of a house with a gable roof and stilt-like legs, a shape that recalls the late Minoan sarcophagi from Crete, though the long rafters of the roof cross each other and form a bristling decoration along the top. Fragments of a model of a similar house have been found at Marsiliana near Orbetello. Among the vases one of the most interesting is made of *impasto* with a *graffito* decoration of winged horses and a long inscription which is the earliest one from Falerii and belongs in the seventh or sixth century.

In the sixth century begins the introduction of Attic wares. The collection is rich in examples of the red-figured style, many of which are of great beauty as triumphs of the potter's art, and of his-

torical value as helping to assign a date to the local wares which have been found with them, and which exhibit the high degree of skill attained by the Faliscan potters.

Sculpture is represented by an archaic sphinx's head in stone, a local imitation of Graeco-Cypriote work, and by some small statuettes of bronze in the Ionic-Etruscan style intended as decorations on candelabra or tripods. The bronze vessels are numerous and some of them are covered with a beautiful pale-blue patina. But to follow out the further development would take us far past the time of the kings, and here we need only call attention to the fact that even after the cessation of Greek imported objects the city apparently continued to flourish and was able to make local imitations of the articles which had first furnished them with their inspiration, while the evidence of the temples gives another indication of its later prosperity.

The other sites in the neighborhood, Corchiano, Monte St. Angelo, Narce, and Nepi are said to be identical in culture with Falerii, although none of them has furnished so great a quantity of objects.

Narce, situated on a hill in the upper valley of the Treia, which is a tributary of the Tiber, is next to Falerii in importance, although not all the periods are so well represented. The *pozzi* are abundant, the *fossæ* and *cameræ* of the orientaliz-

ing period are very rich, the material belonging to the period of Attic importations is scarce, while that of the local imitations of Greek wares is scarcest of all. Here, as at Falerii Veteres, the similarity between the contents of the *pozzi* and *fossæ* is striking and the chief difference lies in the greater abundance of imported objects in the *fossæ*.

Nepi, which lies between Veii and Falerii, is another city which may have been either Etruscan or Faliscan, but which exhibits all the phases of development characteristic of the *Ager Faliscus*.

The difficulty of making definite boundary lines between these various peoples has already become obvious, and when we turn to the southern neighbors of the Faliscans, we can only make the general statement that they occupied the territory south of Mount Soracte between the Via Flaminia and the Tiber, having the Sabines to their east, the Latins to the south, and the Etruscans to the west. The great sanctuary of these people was the grove of Feronia.

The remains from the *Ager* of Capena are on the ground floor of the museum beyond the rooms with the architectural terra-cottas of the *Ager Faliscus*. A most striking difference from their neighbors lies in the absence of *pozzo* tombs, but the oldest *fossæ* contain objects similar to those from the *fossæ* and latest *pozzi* of the *Ager Faliscus*.

cus and the *cameræ* also are similar. There is, however, a marked divergence in the contents of most of the tombs in the two districts beginning with the sixth century, for Attic black-figured and early red-figured vases are extremely rare. In this respect these tombs are like those of Latium where we have already noticed the striking absence of these vases. Whether this was due to economic conditions or to local taste cannot be stated with any confidence, for on the one hand the people around Capena appear not to have been at all wealthy, and very little precious metal has been discovered in their graves; while on the other, their racial affinity to the Latins seems to have been close. Even Faliscan vases are rarely found here, although they were so near at hand, and although a local kind of brown vases with orientalizing decorations done in *graffiti* and filled in with red is found in both districts. The people of Capena threw in their lot with Rome against Veii in 395 and in return for the loss of their independence came under her protection, and the abundance of tombs containing rich material of the Etrusco-Campanian style of the third and second centuries shows that the city continued to flourish after the destruction of her neighbor Falerii in 241.

In the chapter on the temples it was possible to make a composite restoration of the buildings

based on evidence collected from various quarters. It now remains to select a few particularly important objects from the different localities for special mention.

The site of ancient Falerii has been identified with the modern village of Civita Castellana, again a magnificent rocky plateau surrounded by streams, with a splendid medieval bridge of double arches spanning the great ravine. A few fragments of the ancient circuit walls are left and in the cliffs and down the ravines are innumerable tombs.

Remains of five temples have been found in the neighborhood of the city, but as two of these, the famous temple of Juno Curitis and the so-called temple of Apollo, belong only to the Hellenistic period, we need not speak further of them. In the district known as Sassi Caduti, which lies on the left bank of the Rio Maggiore to the south of the city, was the temple attributed to Mercury because of the lower part of a figure of the god, with winged sandals, which formed the central *acroterion* of the Hellenistic temple, and because of Faliscan inscriptions supposed to be a dedication to Mercury on vases from the votive offerings on the site. Although the identification is no longer regarded as certain, the temple whose decoration belongs to two periods, the archaic and the Hellenistic, has furnished some important exam-

ples of architectural terra-cottas. To the late sixth or early fifth century belongs the fragmentary central *acroterion* representing two warriors in contest, one of whom has been forced to a kneeling position and is looking up at his adversary of whom only the lower part, from the waist down, has been preserved. This furnishes an admirable example of polychrome coloring, as well as of the equipment of a warrior of the period, who is clad in a short chiton and armed with helmet, breast-plate, greaves, and thigh-protectors, and who carries a small round shield and a curved short sword. The whole is included in a border with a fringe-like edge of curls, and which must have formed two volutes.

Northeast of Civita Castellana is the height called Vignale, identified as the acropolis of Falerii Veteres. On this were found remains of two temples, both belonging to the archaic and Hellenistic periods.

From the smaller temple are *antefixæ* of the sixth or fifth centuries representing a mænad captured by a satyr who has horse's feet, according to the Ionic type, and who carries a drinking-horn, while the mænad holds what may be a fruit or an egg. Another represents the head of a satyr crowned with a five-petaled rosette, and another a mænad's head with diadem and rayed nimbus. Similar heads came from the larger temple as

did a perforated cornice from the pediment, formed of arches surmounted by palmettes. A series of molds for making architectural terracottas shows how easy it was to reduplicate these ornamental adjuncts, but unfortunately none of these molds fits the decorations of the temple. It has, nevertheless, been a very illuminating thing to see when and where the same molds have been used for decorations on temples often in rather far-separated places.

Although nothing is left to show whether there was an early temple of Juno Curitis, the antiquity and importance of the sanctuary is attested by the discovery of a few tufa sculptures of early archaic date. They are the head of a panther, the upper part of a winged feline figure, and a woman's head with remnants of a crown of bronze and with hair falling in masses to the neck. These works are all of the Græco-Cypriote style of the sixth century, and although the woman's head is very crude, it is considered by some to be the prototype of the venerated statue of Juno Curitis herself.

As a result of casual discoveries or from unknown localities, there are many architectural terra-cottas of the sixth and fifth centuries which show the activity of this period.

From various sites in Latium there are fictile decorations most of which have already been mentioned when describing the sites themselves, for

example, two sixth-century terminal tiles for the raking cornice of a pediment from Præneste on the broadest *fascia* of which is a procession of warriors and chariots; the little terra-cotta model of a building from Velitrae, dating from the sixth century; a sixth-century satyr *antefix* from Sig-nia, and many other architectural terra-cottas of the early fifth century; a great *antefix* in the shape of a female head, perhaps a mænad, with diadem, earrings, and necklace, and a great nimbus with one zone of perforations and one of tongue-ornament, from the temple of Juno Sospita at Lanuvium, one of the most revered of the sanctuaries of Latium.

But the most plentiful and most varied examples are from Satricum whose oldest temple goes back at least to the middle of the sixth century, thus being older than any of the examples previously cited from Latium. The oldest period is illustrated by fragments of frieze-slabs with relief decorations of riders, some of which may be Amazons as they are archers clad in oriental costume with trousers. There is also an *antefix* of a female head with the diadem and nimbus, but the work is so crude that it has been called a wicked imitation of a Greek type.

To the second period of the temple belong examples of practically every kind of terra-cotta, repeating types familiar at Falerii, especially those

of satyrs and mænads. From the architectural point of view a piece of a trapezoidal slab intended for the end of a *columen* is particularly interesting, for it shows what was used as a main decoration before the employment of sculptured figures in the gable. It represents a fully equipped warrior in the act of charging his adversary who was shown on the missing half of the slab. Two small male heads and the head of a horse indicate the artistic skill achieved by their makers. The first represents a bearded warrior in an Attic helmet with elaborate ornament. The orbits of his eyes are hollow, but enough traces of a dark gum remain to show that they were originally filled with some other substance, just as in statues of bronze the eyes were frequently inlaid in another material. The second head is that of a dead warrior and the artist has expressed the death struggle with great skill, showing the deep furrows of the brow, the closed eyes, and the half-open mouth. These small heads live up to the tradition of the workers in terra-cotta for which Veii was especially famous. The finest of all is the bearded head, generally called Jupiter, which was described when speaking of the statues for the temple on the Capitoline hill. It may be the work of only an artisan, as the workers in clay were probably called; nevertheless, its expressions of dignity and goodness makes it not unworthy to suggest

what the statue made by a famous artist may have been like.

We have already seen that at Satricum there were not only temples, but dwellings, cemeteries, and deposits of votive offerings. The discoveries from these sources fill many cases and bear witness to the flourishing condition of the town which owed so much of its prosperity to its position as port for the rich city of Præneste.

The magnificent collection from Præneste which occupies the greater part of the ground floor of the original casino is representative of the wealth and interests of the city, from the orientalizing period to the third or second century. Owing to the lack of systematic exploration or of recording the sporadic finds, there is practically nothing of the earliest Iron Age, but this want is little felt, since the other periods are so gorgeously represented and so many of the objects have been found in a perfect state of preservation. A great deal has already been said about the importance and wealth of Præneste, and its connection with the rich cities of Etruria, particularly Cære. It would be impossible to suggest even a fraction of the beautiful objects in the collection, or to describe the skill in metal work, the splendor of gold, the profusion of ivory, the combination of wealth and good taste, of richness and delicacy which characterize the contents of the princely

tombs; suffice it to say that the only parallel to the Barberini collection here is the Bernardini collection in the Museo Preistorico and the objects from the Regolini-Galassi tomb in the Etruscan museum of the Vatican.

The two rooms through which one passes on the way to the architectural terra-cottas contain the sculptures, mostly sepulchral works in coarse stone or terra-cotta. The finest of these have already been described. They are the new Apollo from Veii, which is in the center of the first room facing the entrance door, and the archaic sarcophagus from Cære in the second room. As the new discoveries are placed temporarily in some of the cases until they are put in their permanent places, it is of course impossible to dwell on them, but they illustrate the way in which the museum is intended as a place in which the interested student or the casual observer may be kept in touch with recent discoveries which in due time are put into their proper frame-work so as to fill out the details of the picture of the civilization of early Rome and her neighbors on either side of the Tiber.

Strictly speaking, the most northerly city in Etruria with which Livy concerns himself is Tarquinii, and we have already spoken of the great number of *camera* tombs in which one may trace the development of the art of painting and the art of living as practiced by the Etruscans. There is,

however, in the modern city of Tarquinii an admirable museum containing the antiquities from the cemeteries which occupies part of the Gothic Palazzo Vitelleschi. This collection which has recently been opened to the public presents a continuous history of old Tarquinii beginning with the pre-Etruscan period in the first room on the first floor. Here are the familiar hut-urns and Villanovan urns either in clay or bronze, helmets, broad belts, swords, lance-heads, horse-bits, and *fibulæ*, spherical clay vases on stands imitating those of metal, and the famous Egyptian Bocchoris vase of about 700 B.C. Then follow rooms containing orientalizing and *bucchero* wares, Italo-geometric, proto-Corinthian, and Corinthian, with local imitations, and Attic vases both black-figured and red-figured in great profusion and of the highest artistic merit, as well as a rich collection of jewelry.

Other objects from Tarquinii are in the Museo Archeologico in Florence to which we must now turn for a picture of the prehistoric civilization of the more northerly cities of Etruria.

The Museo Etrusco is on the first floor, but a beginning should be made with the series of rooms known as the Museo Topografico dell' Etruria which occupy a large part of the ground floor and the Archæological Garden adjoining.

A description of the types of Tombs will be

reserved for the discussion of the garden in which every sort is represented, and only the briefest mention can be made of specially famous objects which are known to all students of archæology for some particular point of importance. The collection from sites extending from Florence on the north to Arezzo and Chiusi on the east and Vetulonia and Populonia on the west is arranged in strictly topographical order, one or more rooms being devoted to each city beginning with Vetulonia which requires four rooms to hold its antiquities. The significance of Vetulonia which presents a chronological sequence of tombs from the Villanovan through the Etruscan has been admirably discussed by Mr. Randall-MacIver in his recent book *Villanovans and Early Etruscans*. Like Bologna, Vetulonia has both a Villanovan and an Etruscan cemetery, the latter of which is particularly valuable, since the earliest phase of the Etruscan civilization may be more accurately dated here than elsewhere. The Villanovan cemetery consisted of several hundred *pozzo* tombs which were poor in contents but bore a striking resemblance to those in Bologna. An excellent practice has been to keep the contents of each tomb distinct, thus giving a clear idea of the kinds of objects that were in use simultaneously. The more than familiar story of *pozzi*, *fossæ*, and *cameræ* may be modified by mention of tombs consisting

of a circle of stones, probably originally covered by a mound of earth. These take the place of the *fossa* type which is of rare occurrence here, whether for cremations or burials. The circles enclose one or more rectangular graves the contents from the latest and wealthiest of which resemble those from the great tombs at Præneste. Many of them are very rich in ornaments of gold, and one contains a high-handled *bucchero* cup which has been gilded and bears an Etruscan inscription. This gilded *bucchero* recalls a technique used centuries earlier in Minoan Crete, where the well-known steatite vases from Hagia Triada were covered with gold-leaf. From the same tomb—a famous one known as the Chieftain's (*del Duce*)—came a bronze chest similar in shape to the gable-roofed model of a house in the Villa Giulia to which attention has already been called. This box is plated with silver and covered with orientalizing designs in repoussé. A little bronze votive boat adorned with as many figures of animals as a Noah's Ark came from the same tomb, as did a huge bronze basin filled with bronze articles and covered with a great shield of the same material. Among the interesting contents of the tombs is an iron double-axe combined with the *fasces*, which has given the name of Tomb of the Lictor to their place of discovery. Quantities of small bronze figures of votive or other religious character have

led to many more or less sound theories of religious connections with other countries. Vetulonia was famous for fine work in metal, and the gold jewelry affords the most beautiful examples of craftsmanship which knew how to make use of every technique. Especially remarkable is the granulated work which has designs of animals in processions. From Vetulonia comes the famous *stele* of Aule Feluskes, an archaic representation in *graffito* of a warrior armed with double-axe, helmet, and round shield, which is apparently older than the relief of Larthi Atharnies from near Volaterræ showing a warrior clad in tunic, boots with upturned toes, helmet on his flowing locks, and a curved sword. These crude efforts have little to recommend them from the point of view of beauty, but they show how early the Etruscans were in the habit of using writing, for both bear inscriptions in their language.

From Volaterræ is an urn of the common Villanovan shape adorned with a swastika in relief, and with small decorative terra-cottas above the handle and on the cover. This latter group of a man seated before a table loaded with piles of objects like pancakes and waited upon by a smaller figure, has been interpreted as a celestial banquet, but is of interest also as showing how the fondness for decorating bronze vessels with little figurines was carried out in clay. A cinerary urn

shaped like a small temple with Ionic pilasters at the corners, rows of *antefixæ*, and clearly indicated *columnæ* affords another bit of evidence for the reconstruction of temples and recalls the votive buildings from Nemi and Velitræ.

Very soon, however, we notice decided variations between the objects from northern and southern Etruria although the importation of Greek vases is common to both. From Chiusi there are innumerable examples of the anthropoid urns known as *canopi*, where the cover represents a human head and the body of the vase often has arms crossed on the chest, and the vase is frequently placed on a high-backed throne. These may be of bronze or of terra-cotta and some are furnished with masks instead of heads. Braziers and little wagons, jugs, bowls, candelabra, tripods, crested helmets, repoussé shields, chains and ornaments, and weapons innumerable make up the contents of the tombs. The fondness for terra-cotta imitations of bronze has often been mentioned, but an unusual effort is a huge stone ossuary which imitates a bronze caldron with its decorations in relief or in the round, its animal-heads, and even the figure on the lid, which here is a goddess of death clad in pleated chiton.

It would be possible to continue indefinitely with the enumeration of the contents of the tombs, but by way of summary it may be said that even in

the earliest Villanovan period the tombs of northern and central Etruria seem richer than those in southern Etruria, the *Ager Faliscus*, and Latium, that increasing wealth is evident in the tombs of the orientalizing period with their plentiful gold jewelry, their finely carved ivory, amber, and other *objets de luxe* from overseas. There seems a greater fondness for the elaborate, the grotesque, and the bizarre, and an affection for little statues, many of which have been identified as deities of eastern origin, while wealth and technical skill rather than taste or balance of design appear to have been particularly characteristic of their makers. In southern Etruria and Latium we have found almost no attempts at sculpture, and if the greater quantity found in northern and central Etruria is due to contact with the Greeks, the makers have been but poor pupils.

The discoveries from Tarquinii need not detain us long. They consist chiefly of contents of *pozzetti* from Selciatello and Poggio dell' Impicciato, among which is a Villanovan urn in bronze with crested helmet as cover, and a similar one in terra-cotta, some gilt-bronze plates which probably decorated a leather cuirass, and some pieces of *aes rude* indicating the early use of money. The most interesting examples of sculpture are those which imitate Greek metal work in repoussé belonging to the orientalizing period. Of these the

finest is the tomb-relief already mentioned when speaking of Tarquinii and representing in one panel a man, or perhaps Heracles, in contest with a centaur, the Nemean lion, the Cerynian stag; above in smaller panels which are framed with a guilloche pattern are a griffin, a winged running figure, a contest, and nine ducks, three in the lower part of each panel. The choice of subjects from Greek mythology is as interesting as the attempts to work successfully in low relief.

As to Narce and Falerii, it is rather pathetically said that the objects in this museum are too poor to serve as representatives of the splendid civilization exhibited in the Villa Giulia. One interesting experiment was a yellowish Villanovan urn decorated in red with geometric designs in the Cypriote style, and there are many illustrations of the typical objects of the *pozzo* and *fossa* periods.

The visitor will by this time be glad to return to the long corridor which opens on the garden. Here in the midst of trees, shrubs, and flowers one may roam about and examine at leisure all the types of tombs from the simplest *pozzo* to the most elaborate *camera*. These tombs are literally reconstructions, not replicas, for most of them have been taken to pieces stone by stone from their original positions and set up here. There is, for example, a group of *pozzetti* from Vetulonia each with

its ossuary, one of which contains a copy of the hut-urn that was found in it and is now in the first room, and near by is a slab in the shape of a shield used as a cover for the tomb. Other early structures are the vaulted *Tomba del Diavolino* with its long entrance-dromos roofed with slabs, and its rectangular foundations supporting a dome; the cupola tomb from Casal Marittimo with its central pilaster and converging courses of the vault; the lateral *cella* of a *tumulus* from Monte Agezzo with its door forming an ogival vault and with its outer walls exhibiting a mixture of polygonal and coursed masonry; and part of the street of tombs from Orvieto. To the fourth and third centuries belong the great *Tomba d' Inghirami* and the painted tomb from Sette Camini near Orvieto in which are excellent copies of the original wall-paintings which represent the departed in his chariot entering the sepulcher to the sound of trumpets and being received at a sumptuous banquet by the king and queen of Hades, to which have been invited the household of the deceased. Preparations for the banquet are under way, showing a cook putting a dish on the fire, the servants who prepare the food, and even the scene in the butcher's shop where meat and game are hanging ready for a purchaser.

Another striking monument, also of the fourth or third century, but continuing what we know to

have been an ancient custom, is the splendid lion, doubtless intended to stand before or upon a tomb. Every conceivable type of *cippus* is to be seen here, from *stelæ* to altars and mushrooms. The finest *cippus* is set above the Tomba di Casal Marittimo and consists of a sandstone pillar with four rearing lions supporting a pine-cone. One other monument that should be mentioned is the *favissa* with altar and votive deposits from the temple of the goddess Nortia near Bolsena. The pit itself has been rebuilt from the original stones.

On the first floor the objects in the Museo Etrusco are in general arranged in chronological order, beginning with the Villanovan period and continuing to the third or second century. The black *bucchero* ware and also the local grayish, red or brown fabrics, are illustrative of many methods of treatment from *graffito* to relief decoration done with a cylinder or a stamp or in imitation of repoussé work which flourished in the seventh and sixth centuries. The bronze room of corresponding date is devoted to domestic or industrial objects, buckets, tripods, vases, weapons, armor, candelabra, etc. The statues and idols of bronze belong principally to the fifth century or later. The painted vases consist of the usual Greek styles or imitations of them, from geometric through Corinthian and Ionic to Attic. The famous François vase of about 550 B.C. with its

zones of scenes from Greek mythology, signed by the makers' names (Ergotimus and Klitias) is probably the best known individual piece of pottery in the museum although there are many other signed Greek vases. Later styles are lavishly represented, particularly Campano-Etruscan.

There are two or three archaic works in sculpture, coarse rough stone *cippi* in the form of herms or *xoana*, but most of the sculptures are of later date and belong to sarcophagi, while the cinerary urns which make up a large collection are decorated with scenes from Greek myths painted in many colors. Some of these urns are of terracotta, some of alabaster, some of tufa, and they belong principally to the third and second centuries. The finest of all is the polychrome alabaster sarcophagus which may perhaps be derived from the famous picture of Micon the Athenian. On one side is the scene of Achilles and the wounded Penthesilea, on the other the battle of the Amazons and the Greeks. This came from Tarquinii where the tradition of painting in fresco was best maintained over a long period of years.

In the chapter on the temples it was said that the name Tuscan did not seem as appropriate as Italic for them and, as far as can be inferred from the results of excavations, the evidence for early temples in central and northern Etruria is almost non-existent. During the Hellenistic period the

use of statues of terra-cotta for temples, especially for pedimental decoration, must have been extensive, since the city of Luni has furnished some very fine instances of statues which apparently formed groups in the gables of a temple built in the third and second centuries and rebuilt after Luni had become a Roman colony (second century). Two different styles of statues have been distinguished, both showing how the terra-cotta decorations of the older days had been modified, for we have seen that the early pediment—with its *columen*, its perforated raking cornice and its horizontal cornice fairly bristling with *antefixæ*—left no place for statues in the round. The only *antefix* of the early (Ionic) style which has been recorded is one from near Chiusi and represents a woman's head, perhaps Aphrodite, with stylized crinkled hair, a diadem, and a torus-frame which probably ended in volutes.

By this time we have wandered far afield from Rome of the kings and have come into contact with strange and unfamiliar things as well as with those that we have learned to know so well in Latium, but still more distant journeys await us, for we must cross the Apennines to Bologna and find there a mixture of Villanovan and Etruscan civilizations which exhibits distinct local characteristics of its own.

The term Villanova has long since become so

familiar that we may be astonished to find that we have at last reached its original home. The discovery in 1853 of about two hundred *pozzetti* at Villanova, a hamlet about 8 km. west of Bologna, introduced an entirely unfamiliar civilization, and since it was recognized as pre-Roman it was at first attributed to the Etruscans, as had been the case with the many Greek vases found early in the nineteenth century in the tombs of Etruria. Shortly afterwards objects of a similar nature were found inside the limits of Bologna itself at a time when important engineering works were being carried out in the city. Fortunately, Zannoni, the engineer in charge, recognized the value of the discoveries and conducted systematic excavations at various points, as well as caring for the preservation of the objects which had accidentally been brought to light. The cemeteries lay around the ancient city in every direction except southward, though the most important ones were to the west in the Certosa district where they were first discovered when alterations were being made in the Campo Santo of the medieval monastery. Thus, throughout the ages, this area has been a resting-place for the dead as it was used in both the Villanovan and Etruscan periods, each of which had its separate cemetery. The three stages belonging to the Villanovan or pre-Etruscan cemetery are Benacci I, Benacci II, and Arnoaldi,

the names having been taken from the estates on which the discoveries were made. The Etruscan period began in the last quarter of the sixth century.

Overlapping to a considerable extent with the medieval city and included within the boundaries of modern Bologna was the Villanovan settlement or settlements which according to Grenier occupied a circle of about fifteen hundred meters radius, though this seems incredibly large, and most scholars have placed Etruscan Felsina on approximately the same site. Large numbers of hut-foundations, round, elliptical, or rectangular, were discovered arranged in rows along what may have been streets, and their contents show them to have belonged to the Bronze Age, the Villanovan and the Etruscan periods.

Bologna lay on low ground in the open country which doubtless was in olden times, as now, largely agricultural, in a good strategic position at the crossroads of trade routes, controlling the gateway to the Apennines and to the district of the lower Po valley. There is no indication of fortifications around the ancient city and nothing could be a greater contrast to the typical Etruscan or Latin strongholds with which we have become familiar. If the Etruscans settled there, they must have felt like fish out of water in such a position. This was such a difficulty that Dennis refused to

accept modern Bologna as the site of the Etruscan city and placed it at Monte della Guardia, but Grenier, the latest scholar to make a thorough study of ancient Bologna, says that there are no ancient remains on the spot, and he identifies it with the height on which stands the convent of Osservanza south of the city where some tufa foundations have been discovered. This position overlooks the site where the old Villanovan settlement must have been; it is midway between the Etruscan cemeteries and it is flanked by two small ravines.

The contents of the Villanovan and Etruscan cities and tombs form an imposing array on the first floor of the Museo Civico, but before reaching them we pass through two rooms containing finds from neighboring settlements in the northern part of Italy representative of all periods from the Stone Age onwards, particularly of the *palafitte* and the *terremare*. Then follow several rooms illustrative of the various places in or immediately around Bologna where the medley of Villanovan and Etruscan objects is often somewhat confusing at first. Obviously, it is not always possible to combine the topographical and the chronological arrangements, but a little practice makes it possible to identify objects typical of each period. One room (X) has a useful plan marking the sites excavated and a series of pictures of the *pozzo* and

fossa tombs used for cremation or burial. The two Benacci periods and the Arnoaldi have been differentiated so as to show the development.

The famous hoard of several thousand bronze objects found in the center of modern Bologna and supposed to represent the stock-in-trade of a bronze-founder occupies the whole of another room. Among the most striking individual articles are the celebrated Certosa and Arnoaldi *situlæ*, the former with its four zones of repoussé work depicting a procession of foot-soldiers and horsemen, a procession of religious ritual, scenes from every-day life, and a procession of fantastic animals; the latter much inferior in design and execution with its three zones of unequal width separated by broad bands of conventionalized leaf motives, and showing games, a procession of warriors, and a frieze of quadrupeds. These buckets, as well as a couple of mirrors and a plate with repoussé decoration, are very much like the *situlæ* which are such a specialty of the Venetic district. Certainly, the intermediate position of Bologna laid it open to contacts with both Venetia and Tuscany in whichever direction we believe the influence moved.

One view is that the so-called Villanovan civilization did not originate in Bologna but reached there from Etruria, since Etruria (and also Latium) furnish examples of a more primitive

phase of the early Iron Age, but these three areas seem to represent three branches of the same family, developing on more or less parallel lines, and also show a continuous development, whereas the tombs at Villanova do not. Tuscany which was subject to foreign invasions became in the course of time predominantly Etruscan, while Bologna being isolated and conservative remained Villanovan, and when the Etruscans arrived there no fusion appears to have taken place, as the cemeteries are quite distinct and some authorities, as we have seen, are even inclined to place the site of Etruscan Felsina on a hill to the southeast of the city in a position more congenial to a race accustomed to the plateaux of Etruria.

The early isolation of Bologna is seen by the fact that only two Corinthian vases, and those exceedingly poor specimens, have been found there. Grenier believes that all the imported objects—and they become plentiful in the Etruscan period—came by way of Etruria and he believes also that the movement of civilization was in a northerly direction, not only from Etruria to Bologna, but from Bologna to the Venetian district. This view is diametrically opposed to that of the advocates of the Hallstatt origin of the Venetic-Ilyrian culture, but cannot be discussed here.

With Bologna our survey of the museums may

come to a close, for although northeastern Italy is full of remains of the Venetic civilization associated with the story of Antenor, they are scattered through so many small local museums that it would be a fruitless task to attempt to summarize them. At Padua, and especially at Este, there are fine collections but no explanatory catalogues, and few except specialists will care to pursue the subject on their own initiative. Yet even an impressionistic glance cannot fail to note their individual qualities and their kinship to the early Iron Age of transalpine Europe.

Livy himself might indeed be astonished to observe the wealth of material on the sites of ancient cities and in the museums that has been gathered together, not with the specific aim of illustrating his history, but all the more valuable for that very reason in testifying to the essential truth of his account of the heroes of old who laid the foundations for the greatness of Rome.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adams, Louise E. W., *A Study in the Commerce of Latium, (From the early Iron Age through the Sixth Century, B.C.)*, Smith College Classical Studies, Number II, Northampton, Mass., 1921.

Ashby, Thomas, Junior, "The Classical Topography of the Roman Campagna," *Papers of the British School at Rome*, I, 1902, pp. 125-285; III, pp. 1-212; IV, pp. 1-160; V, pp. 213-432.

Bertarelli, L. V., *Guida d'Italia del Touring Club Italiano, Le Tre Venézie*, 2 Vols., Milano, 1920.

Bertrand, A., et Reinach, S., *Les Celtes dans les vallées du Pô et du Danube*, Paris, 1894.

Bradshaw, H. C., "Præneste: a Study for its Restoration," *B. S. R.*, IX, 1920, pp. 233-262.

Carcopino, Jérôme, *Virgile et les origines d'Ostie* (Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, fascicule 116), Paris, 1919.

Conway, Robert Seymour, *New Studies of a Great Inheritance*, London, 1921.

Curtis, C. Densmore, "The Bernardini Tomb," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, III, pp. 9-90, Rome, etc., 1919.

Déchelette, Joseph, *Manuel d'Archéologie préhistorique Celte et Gallo-Romaine*, 2 Vols., in 6v., Paris, 1908-1914.

Della Seta, Alessandro, *Italia Antica, Dalla Caverna Preistorica al Palazzo imperiale*, Bergamo, 1922.

Della Seta, Alessandro, *Museo di Villa Giulia, Roma, 1918*
(with full index and bibliographies).

Dennis, George, *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria, 2 Vols., 3d Edition, London, 1883.*

Douglas, E. M., "Juno Sospita of Lanuvium," *J. R. S.*, III, 1913, pp. 61-72.

Ducati, Pericle, *Guida del Museo Civico di Bologna, Bologna, 1923.*

Fell, R. A. L., *Etruria and Rome, Cambridge, 1924.*

Fowler, W. Warde, *Æneas at the Site of Rome, Oxford, 1917.*

Fowler, W. Warde, *The Death of Turnus, Oxford, 1919.*

Fowler, W. Warde, *Vergil's Gathering of the Clans, Oxford, 1916.*

Frank, Tenney, *An Economic History of Rome, to the End of the Republic, Baltimore, 1920.*

Frank, Tenney, *A History of Rome, New York, 1923.*

Frank, Tenney, "Notes on the Servian Wall," *A. J. A.*, XXII, 1918, pp. 175-188.

Frank, Tenney, *Roman Buildings of the Republic, Papers and Monographs of the Amer. Acad. in Rome, Vol. III, Rome, 1924.*

Frothingham, A. L., *Roman Cities in Italy and Dalmatia, New York, 1910.*

Graillot, H., "Le Temple de Conca," *Mélanges historiques et archéologiques, XVI, 1896, pp. 131-164.*

Graffunder, "Rom," in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie, Stuttgart, 1914.*

Grenier, A., *Bologne, Villanovienne et Étrusque, VIII-IV siècles avant notre ère, (Bibliothèque des Écoles, fascicule 106), Paris, 1912.*

Helbig, Wolfgang, *Die Italiker in der Pô-Ebene, Leipzig, 1879.*

Helbig, W., *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*, 2 Vols., 3d Edition, Leipzig, 1912.

Hoernes, Moritz, *Kultur der Urzeit*, 3 Vols., Leipzig, 1912.

Hoernes, Moritz, *Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst in Europa*, 2d Edition, Wien, 1915.

Huelsen, Ch., *The Roman Forum*, translated by J. B. Carter, 2d Edition, Rome, 1906.

Jones, H. Stuart, *A Companion to Roman History*, Oxford, 1912.

Karo, Georg, "Orient und Hellas in archaischer Zeit," *Ath. Mitth.*, XLV, 1920, pp. 106-156.

Körte, G., "Ein Wandgemälde von Vulci als Document zur römischen Königsgeschichte," *Jahrbuch des k. d. Arch. Inst.*, XII, 1897, pp. 58-80.

Lanciani, R., *Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries*, 5th Edition, Boston, 1900.

Lanciani, R., "Le antichità del territorio Laurentino nella Reale tenuta di Castelporziano," *Mon. Ant.*, XIII, pp. 133-198.

Lanciani, R., *The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, Boston, 1897.

Leaf, Walter, *Troy, a Study in Homeric Geography*, London, 1912.

Luce, S. B., "Etruscan Antefixes from Cervetri and Corneto in the University Museum, Philadelphia, Pa.," *A. J. A.*, XXIV, 1920, pp. 27-36.

Luce, S. B., and Holland, L. B., "An Etruscan openwork Grille in the University Museum, Philadelphia," *A. J. A.*, XXI, 1917, pp. 296-307.

Luce, S. B., "Etruscan Shell-Antefixes in the University

Museum, Philadelphia," *A. J. A.*, XXIV, 1920, pp. 352-369.

Luce, S. B., "A Group of Architectural Terra-cottas from Cor-neto," *A. J. A.*, XXV, 1921, pp. 266-277.

Luce, S. B., and Holland, L. B., "Terra-cotta Revetments from Etruria in the University Museum, Philadelphia," *A. J. A.*, XXII, 1918, pp. 319-339.

Martha, J., *L'Art Étrusque*, Paris, 1889.

Milani, Luigi Adriano, *Il Reale Museo Archeologico di Firenze*, 2 Vols., Firenze, 1912.

Modestov, Basile, *Introduction à l'Histoire romaine*, tr. M. Delines, Paris, 1907.

Montelius, Oscar, *Die vorklassische chronologie Italiens*, 2 Vols., Stockholm, 1912.

Montelius, O., *La Civilisation primitive en Italie, depuis l'introduction des métaux*, 2 Vols., Stockholm, 1895, 1905-1910.

Munro, Robert, *The Lake-Dwellings of Europe*, London, 1890.

Munro, R., *Paleolithic Man and the Terramara Settlements*, New York, 1912.

Munro, R., *Rambles and Studies in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Dalmatia*, 2d Edition, Edinburgh and London, 1900.

Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità, Rome, 1876—, *passim*.

Peet, T. Eric, "The Early Iron Age in Southern Italy," *B. S. R.*, IV, 1907, pp. 283-296.

Peet, T. Eric, *The Stone and Bronze Ages in Italy*, Oxford, 1909.

Piganiol, André, *Essai sur les Origines de Rome*, Bibl. des Écoles, fas. 110, Paris, 1917.

Pinza, G., "Monumenti primitivi di Roma e del Lazio antico," *Mon. Ant.*, XV, 1905, pp. 5-844.

Pinza, G., *Materiale per etnologia antica Toscana-Laziale*, Milano, 1915.

Platner, S. B., *The Topography and Monuments of Rome*, 2d Edition, Boston, 1911.

Pliny, *The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art*, ed. K. Jex-Blake and E. Sellers, London, 1896.

Poulsen, Frederik, *Etruscan Tomb Paintings*, tr. I. Andersen, Oxford, 1922.

Randall-MacIver, David, *Villanovans and Early Etruscans*, Oxford, 1924.

Roberts, L. G., "The Gallic Fire and Roman Archives," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, II, 1918, pp. 55-65.

di Rossi, Cav. M. St., "Scavi e Studii nel Tempio di Giove Laziale sul Monte Albano," *Annali dell' Istituto*, 1876, pp. 314-331.

Semple, Ellen Churchill, "The barrier boundary of the Mediterranean Basin and its northern breaches as factors in history," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, V, 1915, pp. 27-59.

Strong, Mrs. S. Arthur, "The architectural decoration in terra-cotta from early Latin temples in the Museo di Villa Giulia," *J. R. S.*, IV, 1914, pp. 157-182.

Taylor, Lily Ross, *Local Cults in Etruria*, Papers and Monographs of the Amer. Acad. in Rome, Vol. II, Rome, 1923.

Taylor, M., and Bradshaw, H. C., "Architectural terra-cottas from two Temples at Falerii Veteres," *B. S. R.*, VIII, 1916, pp. 1-34.

Thallon, I. C., "The Tradition of Antenor and its historical possibility," *A. J. A.*, XXVIII, 1924, pp. 47-65 (with detailed bibliography).

Ure, P. N., *The Origin of Tyranny*, Cambridge, 1922.

Van Buren, Mrs. A. W., "Architectural terra-cotta ornamentation in Rome from the 6th-4th centuries B.C.," *J. R. S.*, IV, 1914, pp. 183-192.

Van Buren, Mrs. A. W., "An archaic terra-cotta relief in Boston," *J. R. S.*, V, 1915, pp. 203-206.

Van Buren, E. Douglas (Mrs. A. W.), "Archaic fictile statues from Veii," *Burlington Magazine*, XXXVI, 1920, pp. 246-251.

Van Buren, E. Douglas, *Figurative Terra-cotta Revetments in Etruria and Latium*, London, 1921.

Van Buren, E. Douglas, "Terra-cotta Arulae," *Memoirs Amer. Acad. in Rome*, II, 1918, pp. 15-53.

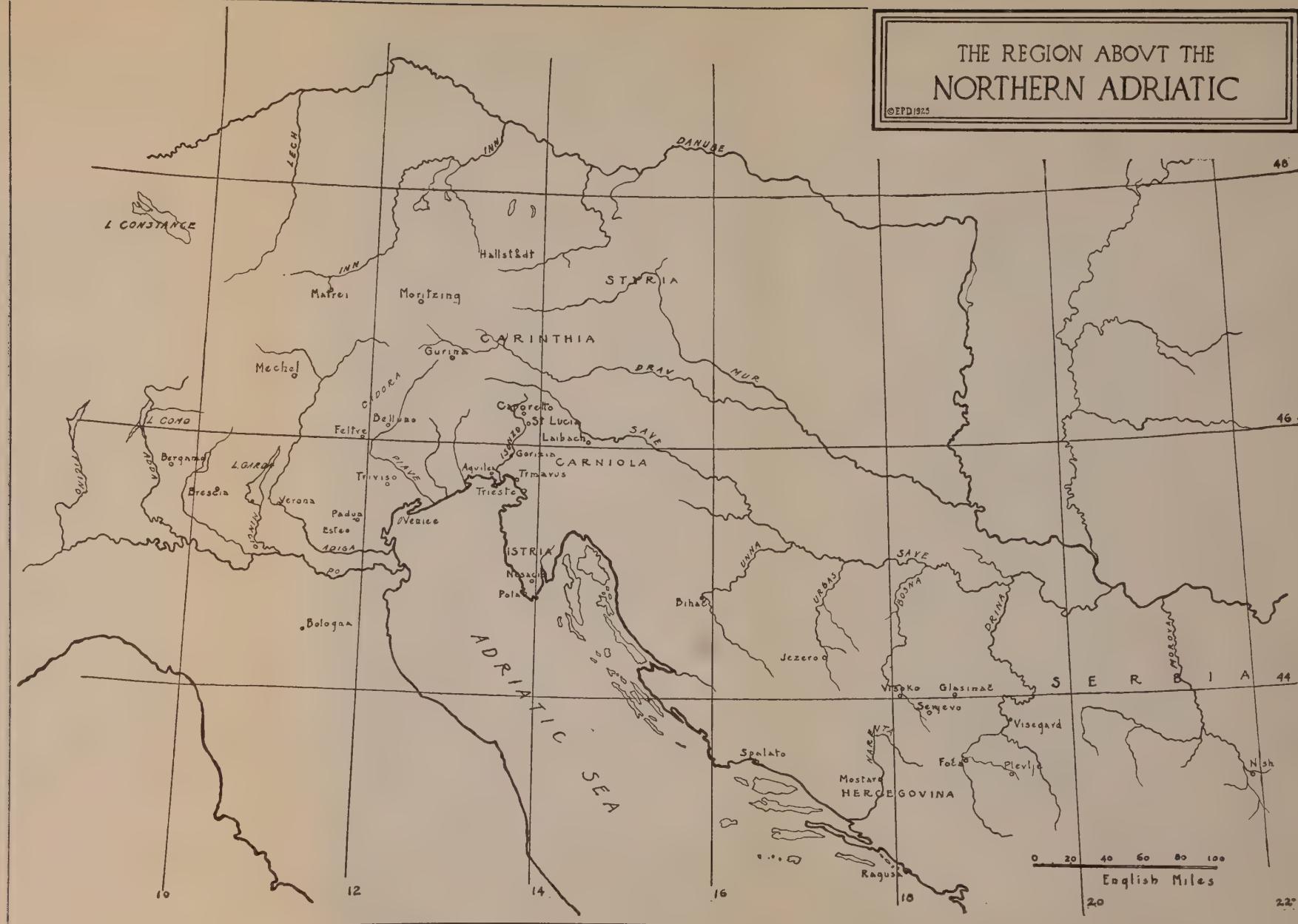
von Duhn, Friedrich, *Italische Gräberkunde*, Erster Teil, Heidelberg, 1924.

Weege, Fritz, *Etruskische Malerei*, Halle, 1921.



THE REGION ABOUT THE NORTHERN ADRIATIC

©EPD/



INDEX

Achæans, 46, 76
Achilles and Penthesilea, 229
Acropolis (Athens), 68, 171, 191
Acroteria, 157, 173, 176, 179, 181, 213
Adige, 38
Adriatic, 6, 11, 36, 40-47
Ægean, 23, 49, 149
Æneas, 1, 12, 18-20, 22-23, 34-36, 53, 75, 81-82, 87, 93, 131, 149
Æneid, 18, 25, 81, 104
Æquians, 117, 120
Æs Rude, 105, 225
Ætolia, 154
Agamemnon, 1, 58, 77
Ager Faliscus; *see also* Faierii, 17, 116, 132, 147, 206-211
Agriculture, 29
Agylla, (Cære), 149
Ajax, 162
Alatri, 205, restoration of temple from, 205
Alba Longa, 17, 24, 27-29, 31-32, 77, 92
Alban Hills, 26-28, 77, 115, 120, 199
Alban Kings, 82
Albano, 200
Albula Fl., 132
Allia, 108
Alpine Region, Alps, 3, 5, 11, 36, 43, 131, 196
Alsium, 150
Amazons, 216, 229
Amber, 30, 42, 43, 55, 122, 125, 126, 198, 200, 207, 225
Ancilia, 63
Ancus Marcius, 20, 25, 61, 66, 69, 86, 92, 95, 97, 100, 113, 133, 135
Anio, 107, 114
Ansa lunata, (crescent-shaped handles), 7, 45, 81, 91, 198
Antefixa, 118, 145, 173, 175, 177, 179, 214, 216, 224, 230
Antemnæ, 106-109, 158, 192
Antenor, 12, 34-38, 48, 50, 51, 195, 197, 236
Antiquarium (Rome), 200
Antium, 104, 120
Antoninus and Faustina, 55
Apennines, 3, 13, 15, 230, 232
Apollo, Temple of at Falerii, 213; on Palatine, 68; statue from Veii, 144, 149, 164, 185-190, 219
Apotropaic figures, 175
Ara Herculis Maxima, 70
Araceli, 179
Architectural Terra-cottas; *see* Fictile Decoration
Ardea, 22, 25-27, 28, 31
Area limitata, 8
Arezzo, 221
Argei, 64, 101
Argiletum, 71
Argo (ship), 51
Argonauts, 44, 51
Aricia, 24, 95
Arno, 15
Arnoaldi, 231, 234
Artemis, 95, 175, 186
Arx, Circeii, 119; Gabii, 116; Rome, 96-97; Veii, 144; Veli-træ, 120-121
Ascanius, 27

Ashby, 114
 Asia Minor, 16, 40, 45, 174, 188
 Astura Fl., 121
 Asylum, 96, 106
 Atestine; *see also* Este, 11
 Athene, 35, 68, 184, 191
 Athens, 68, 171, 191
 Attic Helmet, 217
 Attic pottery (*see also* Imported Objects), 117, 125, 127, 146, 158, 162, 199, 201, 206, 208, 209, 211, 212, 220, 228
Auguraculum, 97
 Augustan Age, 53, 62, 75, 86, 115
 Augustus, 38, 39, 58, 68, 71
 Aule Feluskes, 223
 Aventine, 71, 79, 93–96, 101, 102, 117
 Aventinus, 93

 Bacchiadæ, 140, 184
 Balkans, 46, 49
 Baltic, 50
 Banditaccia (Cære), 151
 Banquet, 174, 175, 227
 Barberini, 127, 150, 161, 200, 219
 Basilica, 21
 Benacci, 161, 231, 234
 Bernardini, 127, 150, 161, 199, 219
 Black Sea, 44
 Bocchoris, 161, 220
 Bœotian Shield, 64
 Bologna, 13, 14, 17, 43, 195, 230–235
 Bolsena, temple near, 228
 Boni, Senator, 54, 79, 82
 Bononia; *see* Bologna
 Bosco Sacro, 92
 Bosna, 45
 Bosnia, 44, 45, 47
 Brenner Pass, 44
 Brescia, 37
 Britain, 4, 129
 British Museum, 154, 159, 194
 Brooches; *see* *Fibulæ*

Bronze Age, 5–8, 45, 47, 50, 196, 198, 203
 Brutus, 137, 138
 Buca, 41
Bucchero, 109, 122, 174, 197, 198, 207, 220, 222, 228
 Burial, 5, 8, 47, 55, 83, 90–91, 122, 147, 151, 161, 207, 222, 234
 Butmir, 45

 Cabiri, 48
 Cadore, 44
 Cæles Vibenna, 93, 156, 201
 Cælian, 92–93, 95, 101, 102, 156
 Cænina, Cæninenses, 58, 96, 106, 108
 Cære, 18, 20, 127, 131, 138, 143, 147, 148, 149, 150–155, 157–159, 161, 162, 163, 164, 197, 199, 201, 219
 Cæsar and Cæsars, 39, 69, 79
 Camenæ, 92
Camera Tombs, 13, 15, 86, 91, 122, 145–148, 151, 160–161, 201, 203, 207, 209, 210, 212, 219, 221, 226–227
 Campagna, 17, 27, 33, 104, 106, 114, 192
 Campana Tiles, 154
 Campania, 3, 113, 125, 127
 Campo Vacchino, 52
 Campus Martius, 64, 72, 73, 138
 Campus Saloni, 25
 Canale dello Stagno, 24
 Cannetaccio (Veii), 145
Canopi, 224
Cantherii, 171
Capanne, 116, 146
 Capena and Capenates, 132, 147, 201, 207, 211–212
 Capitoline, *Capitolium* (Rome), 52, 60, 64, 67, 78, 81, 88, 89, 96–99, 101, 144, 167, 177–181, 185, 217
Cappellaccio, 83, 99, 101, 109

Capitolium (Signia), 118
Capitolium Vetus, 88
 Caporetto, 44
Capræ Palus, 72
Carcer, 67
 Carcopino, 20, 21, 22
Cardo, 8, 97, 116
Carmen Sæculare, 72
 Carniola, 44
 Carthage, 26, 119
Casa Romuli, 79
 Castel Gandolfo, 30
 Castel Giubileo, 112
 Castiglione (Gabii), 116
 Castor and Pollux, 52, 60
 Cato, 40, 166
 Catulus, 168
 Cave Dwellings, 4
 Celle, 208
 Celtic, 42
 Celto-Hallstatt, 46
 Cemetery, Alban Hills, 28-31;
 Bologna, 231-234; Cære, 151-
 152; Esquiline, 24, 90-91, 101;
 Forum, 54-56; Hallstatt, 47;
 Satricum, 121-122, 218; Tar-
 quinii, 160-162, 220; Terramare,
 8; Veii, 146-149
 Cenotaphs, 47, 58
 Centaur, 181, 226
 Ceres, Temple of, at Rome, 177
 Certosa (Bologna), 234
 Cerveteri; *see* Cære
 Chariots, 58, 93, 167, 174, 180
 Chieftain's Tomb (T. del Duce,
 Vetulonia), 222
 Chiusi; *see* Clusium
 Cicero, on Fidenæ, 112
 Cinerary Urn (house-shaped),
 121, 209, 223-224
Cippus, 14, 147, 152, 193, 228, 229
 Circeii, 119
 Circle Graves (Vetulonia), 161,
 221-223
 Circus Maximus, 71
 Cisalpine Gaul, 10-11, 39
Cistæ, 16, 127
Cista à Cordon, 42
 Cisterns, (Palatine), 84
 Civita Castellana; *see* Falerii
 Veteres
 Clamps, 173, 175
 Claudius (Emperor), 156
 Clay; *see* Terra-cotta
 Clazomenæ, 174
Clivus Victoriae, 84
Cloaca Maxima, 54
 Clusium, 155, 221, 224, 230
 Cneve Tarchu Rumach, 156
 Cnossus (Royal Villa), 21
 Coffins, log, 55, 86, 116, 147, 207;
 tufa, 200
 Collatia, 114
 Color, in architectural decoration,
 173-175; in frescoes, 148-149,
 154-155; in sarcophagi, 229; in
 statues, 180, 186, 187; terra-
 cotta slabs, 154
Column, 171, 174, 217, 224, 230
 Combats, 174, 175
Comitium, 65
 Como, 6
 Conca; *see* Satricum
 Conservatori (Palace and Mu-
 seum), 59, 179, 200
Consualia, 71, 106
 Conway, 12
 Cora, 118
 Corchiano, 158, 210
 Corcyra; *see* Corfu
 Corese, 110
 Corfu, 184
 Corinth, commerce of, 140-141,
 183-184; fictile industry, 154,
 183-184, 189; pottery of, 122,
 125, 141, 162, 183-184, 198, 199,
 201, 207, 220, 228, 235
 Corioli, 120
 Corneto (Tarquinii), 158, 160,
 163

Cornice, 173, 216, 230
 Corsica, 153
 Cremation, 8, 47, 55, 122, 146, 151,
 161, 222, 234
 Cremera, Fl., 112, 144
 Crete, 8, 63, 155, 191, 209, 222
 Croesus, 153
 Crustumini, 106, 108
 Cults; *see* Religion
 Cumæ, 16, 140, 141, 155
Cuniculus, 105, 109
 Cures, 86, 110
 Curetes, 63
Curia, 65
 Curiatii, 93
 Curtius, Marcus, 59; Mettus, 59
 Cyprus and Cypriote, 126, 152, 226
Cypselus, 184

Dædalus, 191
 Damaratus of Corinth, 76, 140,
 160, 163–164, 182, 184
 Damophon of Messene, 176
 Danube, Danubian Region, 10,
 43–46, 49–51
 Dardanians, 48
 Dardanus, 48
Decumanus, 8, 97
 Della Seta, 169, 194, 204, 205
 Delphi, 153, 186
 Dennis, 153, 159, 232
Di Agrestes, 23
 Diana, 95
 Dido, 96
 Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 25, 79,
 99, 117, 168, 178
 Diopus, 182
 Dis and Proserpine, 72
Dius Fidius, 89, 117
 Divination, 164
Dolium, 55, 146
 Domitian, 168
 Double Axe, 223
 Dragoncello, 25
 Drav, 44, 46

Drina, 45
 Duenos vase, 89

Egeria, 92
 Egypt, Egyptian, 16, 152; porcelain at Tarquinii, 161, 220
 Emilia, 196
 Eneti; *see also* Heneti, 35–36, 40
 Ennius, 74, 84
 Eos and Cephalus, 157
 Erechtheus, house of, 21; Erechtheum, 191
 Ergotimus, 229
 Esquiline, 24, 31, 82, 89–91, 93,
 101, 109, 116, 200
 Este; *see also* Atestine, 11, 43, 197,
 236
 Etna, 29
 Etruria; *see also* Cære, Tarquinii, Veii, 3, 15–17; architectural terra-cottas, 157–159; *cistæ*, 43; connection with Latium, 162, 165, 197, 201–203; 205–207, 218; Corinthian pottery in, 141, 182–184; Greek influence on, 148, 149, 153–155, 162–163, 170–172, 181–186, 225–226, 228–229; painting, 148–149, 153–157, 163, 201, 227, 229; pre-Etruscan period, 13, 131, 160, 202, 220; prosperity, 26, 29–31, 125, 127, 139, 150, 152, 160–162, 201, 225; physical character, 142; trade with Latium and Campania, 113, 126–127
 Etruscan, altar in Forum Romanum, 57; alphabet, 16; Bologna, 13, 232–235; *bucchero*, 109; *camera* tombs, 15, 86, 91, 146–147, 148–149, 161, 163; chariot in New York, 58; conquest of Rome, 75–77, 85, 100, 133ff.; of Præneste, 127; Fidenæ, 111–113, 133; expansion, 41; inscriptions, 132, 155–156;

League, 15, 19-20; monuments in Rome, 57, 62, 65, 84-85, 86, 91, 97-99; objects in Vatican, 201; settlement in Italy, 148, 160; temples, 169 ff., 229-230; treaty with Rome, 132

Etrusco-Campanian, 23, 229

Eubœa, 16

Eucheir, 182

Euganei, 36-37, 42

Eugrammos, 182

Europe, Central; *see also* Hallstatt, 3, 8, 41, 43, 46-47; Northern, trade with, 55

Evander, 2, 19, 53, 75-77, 81-82, 84, 87

Fabius Pictor, 74

Fagatal, 89, 93

Falerii Veteres, and Faliscan, 132, 158, 205, 208-211, 213-214, 226; inscriptions, 213; language, 132, 202; pottery, 210, 212

Fasces, 222

Fasti, 61

Faunus, 23

Faustulus, 78

Favissa, 57, 228

Felsina, 13, 232, 235

Ferentina, 33

Feronia, 211

Fibulæ, bronze, 12, 23, 30, 55, 109, 122, 146, 198, 200, 220; iron, 208; gold-wound, 209

Ficana, 25

Fictile Decoration; *see also* *Acroteria*, *Antefixa*, Cornice, Frieze, Statues, Terra-cotta, Tiles; Ch. VII *passim*; at Cære, 157-159; Falerii, 213-215; Rome, 85, 177-181; Satricum, 123-124, 216-218; Signia, 118; Veii, 145; Velitræ, 121; Corinthian industry, 183-185; subjects, 174-175

Ficus Ruminalis, 79

Fidenæ, Fidenates, 111-113, 133, 144

Fiery Field, 72

Flame Decoration, 173

Florence, *Museo Archeologico*, 203, 220-230

Formio, 38

Fortune, Temple of, 70

Forum Boarium, 69-71, 102, 113

Forum Romanum, Ch. III *passim*

Fossa Tombs, 13-15; *Ager* of Capena, 211-212; *Ager Faliscus*, 207, 209-211; Alban Hills, 30-31; Bologna, 234; Cære, 151; Esquiline, 91; Etruria, 131, 222, 226; Forum Romanum, 55; Gabii, 116; Latium, 198-199; Palatine, 81; Quirinal, 86; Satricum, 122; Tarquinii, 161; Veii, 145-147; Venetia, 41

Fossa di Formello, 144

Fossa Quiritium, 100

Fosso de' due Fossi, 144

Fosso della Crocetta, 24

Fosso Incastro, 24

Fosso del Marmo, 151

Fosso di Prattica, 24

Four Regions, city of, 83, 91, 101

Fowler, Warde, 18-19

France and French, 11

François Tomb, 156, 201; vase, 228-229

Frescoes, Ægean, 149, 155; copies in Vatican, 201; Sette Camini, 227; Spanish paleolithic, 4; Tarquinii, 163, 229; Veii, 148-149; Vulci, 156

Frieze Slabs, 173-175, 216

Gabii, 115-117, 147

Gail, 44

Garda; *see* Lake Garda

Gaul, 41, 47; Cisalpine, 10-11, 39

Gauls and Gallic, 39-40, 97, 117; Cisalpine, 38, 39

Geometric Pottery (Greek); *see*
Imported Pottery

Germalus, 80

German Embassy (Rome); *see*
Palazzo Caffarelli

Glasinac, 44, 45

Glass, 30, 42, 126, 198, 200, 207

Golasecca, 11, 197

Gold, 126, 207; *see also* Jewelry,
gilded *bucchero*, 222; gilt
bronze, 225

Gorgon, 123, 163, 175

Gorizia, 44

Graffiti Decoration, 122, 207, 209,
212, 223, 228

Greek (Hellenic); *see also* Im-
ported Pottery; commerce with
Ager Faliscus, 206; with Etru-
ria, 16, 153, 157, 163, 184, 224,
228-229; with Latium, 57, 86,
91, 127; early temples and their
influence, 170-177; inscriptions,
58, 157; myths in Etruria, 162-
163, 175, 226, 229; tradition,
77; tyrannies, 182

Grenier, 43, 232, 233

Grotto Campana, 148-149, 163

Gyges, 153

Hagia Triada, 222

Hallstatt, 41-42, 46-47, 50-51, 235

Haterii, Tomb of, 61

Hecuba, 35

Helen, 34

Hellespont, 47

Heneti; *see also* Eneti, 12, 36

Hera, 157; Temple at Olympia,
171

Hercules, 93; altar of, 70; "clay,"
181; on Tarquinii relief, 226;
Veii, 186

Hermes, at Falerii, 213; terra-
cotta from Veii, 186, 187-188

Herodotus, 40, 48, 153

Herzegovina, 49

Homer, 34-35, 40

Horace, 1, 72, 87, 112

Horatius (one of Horatii), 92;
consul, 181

Horatius Cocles, 58, 69, 138

Horses, Grotto Campana, 148;
quadriga of Jupiter Optimus
Maximus, 180; on terra-cotta
friezes, 174

Hut (wicker), 4, 16, 63, 79, 88;
foundations, 29, 81, 109, 121,
146, 232; villages, 81, 116

Hut Urns, in Etruria, 16, 146,
220, 227; in Latium, 28, 30, 121,
198; in Rome, 55, 79, 91, 200

Iliad, 34, 36, 47, 154

Ilium, 47

Illyria, and Illyrians, 39-41, 44,
46, 48-50, 235

Illyro-Hallstatt, 46

Imitations, local of foreign arti-
cles, 116, 199, 206, 208, 210, 211,
225-226, 228; terra-cotta of
metal, 42, 162, 197, 199, 208,
223, 224, 225

Impasto, 122, 198, 207, 209

Implements, and industrial arti-
cles, 7, 12, 14, 16, 42-43, 91,
122, 126, 146-147, 152, 161-162,
196, 198, 200, 207-210, 220, 224,
228, 234

Imported Pottery, *see also* Trade;
Greek (in general), 91, 200,
206, 224, 228, 231; Attic, *see*
Attic Pottery; Corinthian, 122,
125, 141, 162, 174, 184, 198, 199,
201, 207, 220, 228, 235; proto-
Corinthian, 30-31, 55, 84, 126,
162, 198, 207, 220

Inscriptions, Etruscan, 16, 155-
156, 222-223; Faliscan, 209,
213; Greek, 58, 157; Latin, 56,
58, 89, 118

Ionic Influence or Style, 148, 152-

154, 159, 170, 172-174, 185-190, 199, 210, 214, 224, 228, 230; pottery in Etruria, 228; in Latium, 199

Iphidamas, 35

Isel, 44

Iseo, 37

Isola Farnese, 144

Isonzo, 43

Istria, 39, 44, 48

Italic and Italic, 13, 15, 83, 87, 131, 142, 145, 152, 161, 164, 170, 177, 202-203

Italo-geometric, 122, 207, 220

Ivory, 125, 126, 152, 218, 225

Janiculum, 100, 134

Janus (arch of Numa), 71

Janus Quadrifrons, arch, 71

Jewelry, *see also Fibulæ*; bronze, 7, 12, 14, 16, 42, 55, 126, 162, 198, 207, 220; silver, 16, 125; gold, 16, 125, 152, 209, 218, 222, 223, 225; granulated, 126, 152, 207, 223; iron, 208

Jezerine, 44

Julius III, Villa of, 204 ff.

Juno, 104, 118, 128, 169; *Curitis*, 215; *Sospita*, 158, 216

Jupiter, *Elcius*, 94; *Feretrius*, 96; *Indiges*, 23; *Latianus*, 29, 32; *Optimus Maximus*, 68, 98-99, 101, 104, 118, 167, 168, 172, 177-181, 185, 190; *Stator*, 60; terracotta head from Satricum, 189-190, 217

Juturna, 59-60

Klittias, 229

Körte, 157

Labyrinth, 21

Lacuna, in Etruria and Latium, 172, 199; at Satricum, 125

Lacus Curtius, 59

Lago di Vico, 206-207

Laibach, 44, 51

Lake Albano, 27, 33, 105

Lake Dwellers, 5-7, 37

Lake Garda, 6, 11, 37

Lake Nemi, 27, 95, 105, 224

Lake Regillus, 60

Lanciani, 22, 108

Lanuvium, 22, 24, 120, 216

Lapis Niger, 56

Larthi Atharnies, 223

La Tene, 41

Latin and Latins, 13, 19, 23, 26, 29, 30, 32, 33, 87, 93, 95, 96, 104, 112, 113, 114, 115, 118, 120, 131, 132, 202, 205, 207, 211, 212, 232

Latinus, 2, 18, 20, 21, 22, 131

Latium, 3, 9, 17, 18, 20, 23, 25, 26, 29, 51, 65, 80, 113, 122, 125, 126, 128, 132, 133, 147, 149, 157, 158, 161, 162, 168, 170, 177, 184, 195, 196-206, 212, 216, 225, 230, 234

Laurentia (*Lupa*), 78

Laurentian, 17, 20

Laurentine, 25

Laurentum, 21-24

Lausus, 149

Lavinia, 18

Lavinium, 21, 22-24, 27, 28

Liburnians, 36, 39

Lictor, Tomb of, 222

Lions, 57, 226, 228

Lituus, 174

Livy, 11, 12, 17, 18, 19, 20, 25, 27, 28, 31, 32, 34, 36, 37, 38, 39, 51, 53, 54, 58, 62, 63, 65, 66, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 81, 82, 89, 91, 92, 93, 95, 96, 97, 101, 111, 114, 115, 119, 120, 123, 125, 131, 133, 134, 135, 136, 139, 140, 143, 149, 162, 167, 192, 195, 199, 219, 236

Loculi, 146, 147, 208

Lolium perenne, 28

Lombard Plain, 3, 196

Lucretia, 66
 Lucumo, 76, 100, 134, 140, 182
Ludi Sæculares, 72
 Luni, 230
Lupercal, and *Lupercalia*, 77, 78
 Lycosura, 176
 Lydia (Asia Minor), 160
 Lyons, Claudius's Speech at, 156
 Macedonia, 48, 49
 Mæander, 173
 Mæcenas, Garden of, 90
 Mænads, 175, 214, 216, 217
 Mæsian Forest, 114, 133
 Maggiore, Lake, 6
 Magna Græcia, 3, 9, 141, 148, 184
 Malitiosa, 111
 Maremma, 140
 Marino, 29, 33
 Mars, *Salii* of, 63, 64
 Mastarna, 156, 157, 201
 Mater Matuta, Temple of in Rome, 70; at Satricum, 121, 123-124
 Mediterranean Civilization, 8, 63, 148
 Mediterranean Race, 3, 5
 Medullia, 95
 Medusa, 154, 184
 Menelaus, 34
 Mercury; *see* Hermes
 Messina, Straits, 141
 Metropolitan Museum, 58, 194
 Mezentius, 18, 19, 131, 149
 Micon the Athenian, 229
 Milani, 194
 Minerva, 169
 Mines, iron and copper, 143, 202
 Minium, 180
 Minoan, 63, 170, 176, 209, 222
 Minos, 1, 77, 170
 Minotaur, 163
 Mons Cespius, 89, 90, 101
 Mons Oppius, 89, 90, 101, 103
 Montarano (Falerii), 208

Monte Agezzo, *tumulus*, 227
 Monte Cavo (Mons Albanus), 26, 27, 29, 104
 Monte Cucco, 28
 Monte della Guardia (Bologna), 233
 Monte St. Angelo (near Falerii), 210
 Montelius, 42
 Monterozzi (Tarquinii), 160
 Montes (Rome), 53
 Montes Lepini, 120
 Morava—Vardar, 49
 Moulds, for architectural terra-cottas, 172, 215
 Mount Soracte, 207, 211
 Murcia, Temple of, 95; *Vallis*, 84
 Museo Nazionale (Rome), 200
 Museo Preistorico (Rome), 196-199, 203, 219
 Museums, Ch. VIII *passim*; Bologna, 14-15, 194, 233-234; Florence, 194, 203, 220-230; Rome, 179, 195, 196-199, 201, 219; Tarquinii, 161, 220; Villa Giulia, 125, 159, 167, 169, 185, 194, 200, 201, 203-219, 222, 226
Mutuli, 171, 174
 Mycenæ, 1, 21, 58, 155
 Mythology, Greek, 162-163, 175, 208, 226, 229
 Nævius, 74
 Nails, fastening for terra-cottas, 173-174
 Narce, 158, 209, 210, 226
 Nauportus, 51
 Necropolis; *see* Cemetery
 Nemi; *see* Lake Nemi
 Neolithic Period, 4-5, 10, 45, 49-50
 Nepi, 158, 210, 211
 Norba, 158
 Noricum, 43, 46, 50
 Nortia, 228

Numa, 61, 63, 64, 71, 86, 89, 92, 94, 97, 98, 110
 Numicius, 19, 23, 24

Odysseus, 34
Ollæ, 14
 Olympia, 162, 186; Temple of Hera, 171; Treasuries, 153, 171
 Oriental Influence or Importations, 26, 43, 171, 183, 206, 218, 220, 225
 Orte, 207
 Orvieto, 227
 Ostia, 20, 24, 70, 100, 113, 133
 Otricoli, 207
 Ovid, 79, 180

Padua, 33, 36, 37, 38, 43, 236
 Peonia, 48
Palafitte, 6-8, 196, 233
 Palatine, 17, 52, 60, 64, 68, 69, 71, 75, 78-85, 89, 94, 95, 100, 101, 102, 103, 108, 142, 179
 Palazzo Caffarelli, 99, 177
 Palazzo Vitelleschi (Tarquinii), 220
 Palazzo Veneziano (Rome), 197
 Paleolithic Period or Art, 3-4
 Palazzolo, 29
 Pales, 84
 Palisade on Palatine, 80
 Pallas (son of Evander), 87
 Palmette, 172, 175, 179, 215
 Pan, 77
 Pannonia, 48
 Paphlagonia, 35, 40
 Pascolare, II, 28
 "Patavinity," 12
 Patavium; *see* Padua
Pax Romana, 71
 Peartree Pass, 50
 Pegasus, 154, 184
 Pelasgians, 149
 Peloponnesus, 191
 Penna, 208

Penthesilea, 229
Peperino, 28, 104, 118, 178
 Persian Artemis, 175
Petronia Amnis, 72
 Phœcean, 153
 Phœnician, 126, 152
 Phrygia and Phrygians, 40, 48
 Piave, 44
 Piazza d' Armi (Veii), 144
 Piazza di Regina (Tarquinii), 160
 Piracy, 153
 Pliny, 24, 25, 40, 51, 138, 149, 154, 166, 167, 179, 189, 190
 Plutarch, 79, 138, 180
 Po, 3, 8, 11, 232
 Poggio dell' Impiccato (Tarquinii), 225
 Pola, 44
 Polites, 25
 Politorium, 25, 95
 Pometia, 98
Pomærium, 70, 96
 Pons Æmilius; *see* Ponte Rotto
Pons Sublicius, 69, 113
 Ponte Milvio, 73
 Ponte Rotto, 70
 Ponte Salario, 107
Pontifex Maximus, 61
 Populonia, 221
Populus Romanus, 64
 Porsenna, 85, 138
Porta Capena, 92
Porta Maggiore, 61
Porta Mugonia, 52, 84
Porta Romanula, 84
 Porticoes, 67-68
 Pottery, Faliscan, 210, 212; Greek, *see* Imported Pottery; Hand-made, in *Ager Faliscus*, 207; in Latium, 23, 28-30, 55, 81, 91, 109, 116, 122, 125, 196, 198-199; in Palafitte, 7, 8; Incised, neolithic, 4; Ticino, 197; white-filled, 45; Villanovan, 14, 81, 86,

91, 146, 151, 197-198, 201, 207, 220, 221, 223, 225, 228, 231-234; *see also* Pozzo, Fossa

Pozzo, 13-15, 30-31, 41, 55, 91, 122, 126, 131, 145-146, 151, 161, 197-198, 207-211, 221, 225-226, 231, 233

Præneste, 26, 112, 113, 115-121, 125-128, 147, 148, 150, 161, 162, 199, 205, 216, 218, 222

Prætorian Camp, 90

Prattica di Mare (Casino Borghese), 22

Priam, 21, 25, 77

Propertius, 143

Proto-Corinthian Pottery; *see* Imported Pottery

Pylæmenes, 36

Pyrenees, 4

Pyrgi, 150

Pythian, 153

Querquetulanus, 93

Quirinal, 82, 85-90, 97, 100, 101, 103, 117, 142, 200

Quirinus, 89

Quirites, 86

Randall-MacIver, 221

Razors, bronze, 7; iron, 208

Regia, 61

Regio X, 38, 39

Regolini-Galassi, 150, 161, 201, 219

Religion; *see also* Temples; names of gods; 12, 23, 31, 48, 58, 61-64, 68, 70, 72-73, 81, 86, 89, 92, 94-99, 104-105, 123, 164, 181, 190-191, 202, 223

Remus, 17, 94

Res Gestæ Divi Augusti, 58

Rhætians, 38

Ridgeway, 46

Rio Maggiore, 213

Rio Torto, 23, 24

Rome and Roman; *see also* Forum Romanum; Early Tradition and History, 9, 11, 17-21, 27, 31-33, Chaps. III, IV, V, *passim*, 129-130, 131-140, 143, 156-157, 179-182, 236; Museums, 30, 195-219; Name, 86; Remains, 54-67, 70-71, 72, 80-85, 88-89, 90-92, 96, 99, 101-103, 158, 167, 169, 177-179; Roads in Bosnia, 44-45; in Latium, 114; Treaties, with Carthage, 26, 119, with Etruria, 132, with Gabii, 117, with Veii, 133

Romulus, 17, 31, 33, 51, 56-58, 60, 70, 71, 73, 75, 76, 77, 79, 81, 82, 83, 85, 87, 93, 94, 96, 97, 106, 108, 128, 167

Rostra, 64, 66

Rutulians, 18, 23, 25, 26, 87, 104

Sabine, 60, 71, 85, 86, 87, 89, 95, 96, 97, 98, 106, 108, 110, 111, 114, 133, 167, 205, 211

Sacco Fl., 113

San Felice (Circeii), 119

Santa Lucia, 44, 197

Saint Peter (Signia), 118

SS. Stimati (Velitræ), 120

Salii, 63, 64

Sallust, Garden of, 90

Samnites, 13

Samothrace, 48

Sarcophagi, 159, 176, 193, 203, 209, 219, 229

Sassi Caduta (Falerii), 213

Satricum, 26, 118, 120-125, 127, 158, 189, 192, 216, 218

Satyr, 175, 214, 216, 217

Save, 45, 49, 50, 51

Savoy, 11

Scale pattern, 173

Scalæ Caci, 79, 81, 83, 84, 179

Scean Gate, 34

Schliemann, 47, 58

Sculpture, Bronze, 176, 210; Stone, 162-163, 210, 215, 223; Terra-cotta, *see* Terra-cotta; Wood, 70, 191
Selciatello, 225
Semo Sancus, 89
Senate House, 64, 65, 66
Sepulcretum (Forum), 54-56
Serajevo, 45
Serbia, 45
"Servian" Agger, 90
"Servian" Wall, 82, 83, 91, 96, 99, 102
Servius (Grammian), 36, 37
Servius Tullius, 65, 70, 73, 89, 91, 95, 101, 134, 135, 137, 156
Sette Camini, 227
Shops, in Forum, 67-69
Sibylline Books, 22
Sicily, 3, 5, 9, 20, 131, 153, 196
Signia, 117, 118-119, 158, 216
Silenus; *see* Satyr
Silver, 126, 152, 222
Sirens, 175
Situlæ, 12, 42
Slabs; *see* Terra-cotta
Spain, 4
Spinon, 54
Spolia Opima, 97
Statues; *see* Sculpture, Terra-cotta
Stelæ, 16, 56, 223, 228
Stips, at Monte Cavo, 105; on Quirinal, 89; at Satricum, 122-125; at Signia, 118-119; at Velitræ, 121
Stone Age, *see also* Paleolithic; Neolithic, 3, 109, 196, 203, 233
Stone Ossuary, 224
Strabo, 25, 36, 39, 112, 152, 153
Styria, 44
Suessa Pometia, 118, 135
Sulla, 56, 57, 168, 178
Summanus, 181
Sundried Brick, 170-171
Swastika, 223
Switzerland, 5, 8, 41
Syracuse, 141, 154, 166, 184
Tabernæ, 68, 69
Tacitus, 38, 70, 138, 156
Tanaquil, 76, 100, 136, 155
Tarchnas, 155
Tarchon, son of Tyrrhenus, 160
Tarentum (the), 72
Tarpeia, 97
Tarquin I (Priscus), 54, 67, 76, 98, 114, 133, 135, 137, 140, 157, 182
Tarquin II (Superbus), 25, 32, 65-66, 72, 89, 98, 114, 115, 117, 132, 138, 140, 155, 168, 178, 180, 182, 184
Tarquin, Aruns I, 135, 136; Aruns II, 138; Lucius, 135, 136
Tarquin Family, 71, 75, 93, 134, 138, 139, 155, 163, 181, 182
Tarquinii, *see also* Corneto, 140, 143, 147, 151, 159-164, 197, 202, 208, 209, 219, 220, 225, 226, 229
"Tartar Physiognomy," 159
Telleni, 25
Terminus, 98
Terra, 23
Terra-cotta; *see also* Fictile Decoration; Helmets, 198, 208, 225; Sarcophagi, 159, 176, 219; Painted Slabs, from Cære, 153-154, 162, Syracuse, 154, 184; Thermon, 154, 171; Statues, 144, 149, 164, 166, 167, 179-181, 184-190, 217, 219, 230; Temple Model, 121, 216, 224
Terremare, 6, 7-8, 45, 196, 233
Theano, 35
Thermon, 154, 171
Theseus, 163
Tholoi, 67
Thrace and Thracians, 35, 36, 40, 47, 48, 49, 149

Tiber, 3, 15, 17, 20, 22, 23, 25, 53, 64, 69, 76, 100, 104, 107, 108, 111, 113, 114, 129, 132, 138, 142, 143, 144, 158, 165, 198, 201, 202, 203, 207, 208, 210, 211, 219

Tibur, 114

Ticino, 11, 197

Tiles, 124, 145, 172-175, 177, 216; Corinthian invention of, 183

Timavus, 36, 38, 50

Tiryns, 155

Titus, Arch of, 60, 80

Titus Tatius, 85, 89, 110

Tomba degli Auguri, 163

Tomba del Barone, 163

Tomba di Casal Marittimo, 227, 228

Tomba del Diavolino, 227

Tomba del Duce, 222

Tomba d'Inghirami, 227

Tomba delle Iscrizioni, 163

Tomb of Lictor, 222

Tomba dei Tori, 163

Tongue Decoration, 173

Tor Paterno, 22, 24

Touring Club Italiano, 194

Trade; *see also* Imported Pottery; Foreign, of Etruria, 16, 139, 141-143, 147, 152, 157, 182-184, 201, 202-203, 225; of Latium, 23, 112, 121, 127; lack of, in early Latium, 24, 86, 117, 125, 139, 198, 211; Overland, 113, 116-117, 127, 147, 150

Treaties, of Rome, with Carthage, 26, 119; with Etruria, 132; Gabii, 117; Veii, 133

Treia Fl., 210

Tripartite Temple, 145, 169-170

Troad, 40, 48

Trojans, 12, 18, 19, 21, 34, 36, 37, 40, 45, 48, 96, 104

Troy, 12, 20, 34, 35, 38, 45, 47, 49, 51, 154; in Latium, 20; in Vene-
tia, 37

Tufa, 23, 57, 59, 80, 81, 83, 101, 102, 120, 123, 124, 145, 146, 178, 200, 215, 229, 233

Tullia, 136, 137

Tullianum, 66

Tullus Hostilius, 31, 32, 64, 65, 92, 94, 95

Tumulus, 121, 151, 227

Turnus, of Aricia, 33, 115

Turnus the Rutulian, 2, 18, 19, 60

Tuscany, 113, 148, 235

Typhon, 175

Tyranny, 182

Tyrol, 41, 44

Tyrians, 96

Tyrrhenian, 15

Tyrrhenus of Lydia, 160

Umbrian, 13, 205, 207

Umbro-Felsinian, 13

Unna, 45

Valle di Non, 44

Vallis Murcia, 71, 84

Valsiara (Falerii), 208

Varro, 78, 83, 86, 87, 107, 108, 179

Vatican, 201, 219

Veii and Veientes; *see also* Apollo, Vulca, 19, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 132, 133, 143-149, 151, 158, 163, 164, 167, 168, 180, 182, 185, 191, 192, 199, 202, 208, 209, 212, 217, 219

Velabrum, 71

Veleso (King), 36

Velia, 80, 84

Velitræ, 26, 118, 119, 120-121, 158, 216, 224

Veneti, *see also* Heneti, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 48

Venetia, and Venetian, 12, 13, 14, 36, 38, 39, 40-42, 43, 44, 50, 51, 195, 196, 234, 235, 236

Veneto, 197

Vergil, 1, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 35, 36, 50, 53, 75, 82, 93, 131, 149
Vesta, 57, 62, 63, 64, 70, 146
Vesuvius, 29
Vetulonia, 161, 209, 221-223, 226
Via Appia, 92
Via Collatina, 114
Via Ficulensis, 114
Via Flaminia, 73, 211
Via Gabinia, 117
Via Laurentia, 22
Via Nomentana, 114
Via Ostiensis, 102, 113,
Via Praenestina, 115, 117
Via Salaria, 108, 112
Via Triumphalis (Monte Cavo), 105
Vibenna, 156, 201
Victory, Temple of, on Palatine, 84
Vigna Marini-Vitalini (Caere), 157
Vignale (Falerii), 214
Villa Giulia, Museo, 125, 159, 167, 169, 185, 194, 200, 201, 203-219, 222, 226
Villa Spada, 112
Villanova, site, 13, 230-231, 235
Villanovan, *see also* Pozzo, Fossa, 14, 81, 86, 91, 144, 146, 151, 195, 197, 198, 201, 207, 220, 221, 223, 225, 226, 228, 230-235
Viminal, 88, 89, 90, 101
Vipinas, Aule, 156, 157; Caele, 156, 157
Virginius, 69
Vitruvius, 99, 167, 169
Volcanoes, and volcanic, 27-29, 72, 173
Volcanus, 58, 59
Volaterrae, 223
Volscians, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 128, 135
Vulca, 167, 180, 181, 185, 191
Vulci, 147, 156, 157, 158, 201
Weapons, Bronze, 7, 11, 12, 14, 16, 42, 109, 122, 126, 161, 198, 200, 207, 224, 228; Iron, 122
Wolf, Capitoline, 78
Wolf's Cave; *see* Lupercal
Wood, in Temples, 170, 171
York, Cardinal, 104
Zannoni, 231

Date Due

This book may be kept

37 Days
only

It Cannot Be Renewed Because of special demand



3 7048 00073 0941

WITHDRAWN
UNIV OF MOUNT UNION LIBRARY

913.3701-H646r

33696

AUTHOR

Hill, Mrs I.C. (T)

TITLE

Rome of the kings

913.3701

33696

H646r

